

ews

from behind the

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SPECIAL FEATURE

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NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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The Stratagem of Abuse

I. COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

Signal changes in Romanian Communist leadership have caused much speculation about the powers directing Satellite affairs. Simultaneously, Minister of Interior Teohari Georgescu and Minister of Finance Vasile Luca were removed from their posts at the end of May. Several days after their dismissal, Ana Pauker, internationally known as a faithful Stalinist, was accused of deviationism and expelled from the Politburo, proving that no leader is secure in the Soviet orbit. Numerous other officials have been discharged, "warned" or demoted.

On the following pages, exiled Romanian experts have suggested some of the reasons for the downfall of these leaders and have formed several conjectures about Communist policy in the future. In the light of Romanian affairs, emigre specialists from other parts of the Satellite area have also compiled data on the leadership in their respective countries, pointing up the background of the present situation. All reports stress the Kremlin's manipulation of persons and events.

As a result of the recent large-scale shake-up of top-ranking Romanian Communists, and most significantly, the demotion of Ana Pauker, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej has emerged as uncontested boss of the nation.

An old-time labor leader, Gheorghiu-Dej is one of the few Romanian Communists known to have had any personal following. As one observer has pointed out, "the railway workers among whom he worked did not exalt him but simply preferred him as one of the few Communists whose background was non-Soviet." According to reports, Gheorghiu-Dej's initial contacts with the Russians during the first two years of Communist rule in Romania profited his career very little; in fact, in March 1948, being suspected of possible Titoism, his purge was considered imminent. Exiles who know him say that by assiduously following Moscow's orders he managed to avoid that fate and gradually secured his position in the Party. This position was strengthened by the disappearance of his rivals, and on June 2, 1952, his ascendancy was officially con-

firmed. Amidst "tremendous ovations" from all Communist quarters, Gheorghiu-Dej was appointed Prime Minister of the country.

Several days after, in the June 6 issue of the Cominform newspaper, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, Alexander Moghioros, acting as Party-spokesman, praised Gheorghiu-Dej for formulating Party policy as far back as 1949:

"Way back at the time of the 1949 March plenum of the Central Committee, Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej pointed out that the main significance of the farm cooperatives [kolkhozes] . . . is that they combine the private interests of millions of poor and middle peasants with the common interests of the working class in building Socialism and in creating prerequisites that make it easier for the working peasantry to follow the road to Socialism. . . . Party policy was formulated by him . . . when he stressed that: 'We rely on the poor peasantry, strengthen our alliance with the middle peasantry, and wage constant battle with the kulaks.'"

"Luca's Anti-Party Line Was Not Fortuitous"

Preceding Gheorghiu-Dej's appointment was the removal of Ana Pauker from the Political Bureau of the Party and the dismissal of Vasile Luca and Teohari Georgescu from their high government and Party posts. According to Party-spokesman Moghioros, "The anti-Party and anti-State character of Vasile Luca's line in connection with the preparation and realization of the currency reform has been fully disclosed. He not only acted against it directly and openly, but sabotaged it in every way."

The remainder of the indictment read as follows:

"The anti-Party line of Vasile Luca was not fortuitous. It was the continuation of old deviations . . . in which he indulged way back in the period of underground Party activity when he was one of the leaders of the factional struggle against the Party.

"The anti-Leninist line of Vasile Luca . . . directed against the interests of the working class and the working peasantry was [again] manifested with special force in connection with the consumer cooperatives, which he regarded as an organization whose sole aim was to transfer manufactured goods from the town to the country."

As a result, Luca has been expelled from the Central Committee and must present his case to the Party Control Commission.

The following commentary on Luca's purge by an exiled political analyst points up the Communist method of dispensing with those they no longer consider useful.

"Luca, duller and even less imaginative than Gheorghiu-Dej, is a Moscow-trained, old-guard Communist of Szekler extraction [a minority Hungarian group in Transylvania]. He reached the peak of his career when the Kremlin played minority groups against the Romanian majority. Now, deprived of all government functions and of membership in the Party, he is accused of almost every crime in the Communist book, although his main failure was probably incompetence. This, however, would not have been anything new. Yet, only six months before his ignominious dismissal, he was given powers to supersede Miron Constantinescu's all-powerful State Planning Commission, and only six weeks previous to his purge he was carrying out a large-scale monetary reform under direct instructions from top economic 'experts' of the Kremlin. But while Constantinescu has managed at least to retain his position and while the policy implicit in the monetary reform is being continued and reinforced, Luca has been removed from the political scene.

"It is doubtful that Luca was purged as a necessary scapegoat, because the dismissal of the three Deputy-Ministers of Finance would have been sufficient to appease the public for the unpopular monetary reform. In actual fact, apart from Luca's having possibly 'backed the wrong horse' in his espousal of Ana Pauker's cause, no real crime could be proved against him by his fellow Communists. Luca, besides being incompetent, had simply ceased to be useful, and, according to best Communist tradition, was removed as a burden."

Georgescu Accused of Rightist Deviations

The charges against Luca's associate, Teohari Georgescu, are also harsh. According to Agerpress news agency, May 29, Georgescu "manifested a conciliatory stand in relation to the right-wing opportunism of Vasile Luca and tried to conceal his own right-wing mistakes. He exhibited a lack of militancy against the class enemy, a lack of revolutionary vigilance . . . and failed to take measures against profiteers who plundered the industrial workers. . . ." Consequently, Georgescu has been removed from the Political Bureau, the Organizational Bureau, and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and "will be assigned work at a lower level."

Moscow-trained Georgescu, who was known and feared as the supreme chief of the police and home-administration, is considered to have committed the same "crime" as Luca in backing Ana Pauker. One commentator has mentioned that, in addition to this, Georgescu was despised by the public and "it was undoubtedly decided that he had to be removed as a concession to the people." It has been reported that since Georgescu's dismissal, 2,000 members of the Security Forces have been fired.

The Case Against Ana Pauker

While the Cominform newspaper devotes 3½ columns to Luca's indictment and ¾ of a column to Georgescu's "complicity and complacency," Ana Pauker, the most renowned Communist heroine and the forger of top policy for the Kremlin, is dealt with summarily. Part of the criticism read:

"[In conjunction with the other two culprits] Ana Pauker cultivated unprincipled relations with the Party leadership. There were instances of Luca, Ana Pauker and Georgescu reaching preliminary agreement on political questions, a matter which they concealed and practiced for a long time . . . a grave violation of Party discipline . . . entirely inadmissible in Marxist-Leninism. [Furthermore, she exhibited leftist-deviationism] tolerating violations of the principle of the voluntary consent of working peasants in joining collectives."

Although Ana Pauker retained her post as Minister of Foreign Affairs, she seems to be on the way out, especially since officially it was stated that she acknowledged only "some of her mistakes":

"Having severely criticized the mistakes of Comrade Ana Pauker, the plenum unanimously warned her and, did not elect her to the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party.

"As a result of this criticism, Comrade Ana Pauker acknowledged some of her mistakes and pledged the plenum to fight for the Party and its decisions."

"Discipline Is Obligatory, Even for Leaders"

Made to give a shining demonstration of the Party's principle of criticism and self-criticism, Ana Pauker was also used to illustrate the fact that, as Moghioros put it, "Iron Bolshevik discipline, on which the Party is founded, is equally obligatory for Party members and Party leaders, including those who 'rendered service in the past,' and who, having become 'rulers,' do not regard Party decisions as their duty."

In analyzing Ana Pauker's role in Communist politics, an exiled Romanian diplomat has pointed out that "she did not back the wrong horse, she *was* the wrong horse":

"Now she is being made responsible even for things which she obviously could not have controlled, such as 'tolerating violations of the principle of the voluntary consent of working peasants in joining collectives.'"

"Ana Pauker was considered the materialization of the anti-Christian and anti-Romanian spirit, the sponsor of all Communist despots forming the backbone of the regime. Many of these were Jews imported from Russia and Bessarabia. As ruthless executors of regime policies, she and her satellites were feared and hated. Her methods, however, were notoriously harsh to everyone and there is not a single instance of her 'protection' being extended to Jews. Just as she consented to her husband's liquidation, so she opposed Jewish emigration to Israel. She, and all those who were associated with her, are scapegoats, not for any particular mistake, but for general defects in the Communist system."

Shakeup in Romanian Communist Leadership

- MARCH 5** Aurel Vijoli, *Deputy Minister of Finance and Chairman of the State Bank*, dismissed from both posts. Alexandru Iacob and Vasile Modoran, *Deputy Ministers of Finance*, dismissed. Radu Manescu and Constantin Niculceanu appointed *Deputy Ministers of Finance*. Anton Moisescu appointed *Chairman of the State Bank and Deputy Minister of Finance* (formerly Vice-Chairman of the Sports Committee). Dumitru Fara and Emanoil Vinea appointed *Vice-Chairmen of the State Bank*.
- MARCH 8** Vasile Luca dismissed from the *Ministry of Finance*. Dumitru Petrescu appointed *Minister of Finance*. Emil Stanciu appointed *Chairman of the State Food Supply Commission*.
- MARCH 26** Mauriciu Novac and Nicolae Gheorghiu appointed *Deputy Ministers of Local Industry*.
- APRIL 3** Nicolae Badescu appointed *Chairman of the State Commission of Constructions*. Ladislau Adler appointed *Vice-Chairman of the State Commission of Constructions*. Constantin Nistor appointed *Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Institutions*. Mihail Rosianu appointed *Chairman of the Radio Broadcasting Committee*.
- APRIL 6** Jac Podoleanu appointed *General Director of Printing and Editing Industry*.
- APRIL 23** Nicolae Gheorghiu appointed *Deputy Minister of Electrical Power and Supply* (formerly *Deputy Minister of Local Industry*).
- MAY 27** Vasile Luca dismissed from *Vice-Premiership*. Teohari Georgescu dismissed from *Ministry of Interior and Vice-Premiership*. Alexandru Draghici appointed *Minister of Interior* (formerly *Deputy Minister of Interior*).
- MAY 28** Gheorghe Apostol appointed *Vice-Premier* (retains former *Chairmanship of the Trade Union Federation*). Ion Vinte appointed *Deputy Minister of Interior*.
- MAY 30** Constantin Prisnea appointed *Minister of Agriculture* (formerly *Minister of Forests and Timber Industry*). Vasile Vaida dismissed from *Ministry of Agriculture*. Mihail Suder appointed *Minister of Paper and Cellulose Industry* (formerly *Deputy Minister of Forestry*). Carol Loncear appointed *Minister of Metallurgical and Chemical Industry* (formerly *Deputy Minister of Metallurgical and Chemical Industry*). Chivu Stoica dismissed from *Ministry of Metallurgical and Chemical Industry*. Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Teohari Georgescu and Lotar Radaceanu dismissed from the *Secretariat of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Miron Constantinescu and Gheorghe Apostol appointed members of the *Secretariat of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Teohari Georgescu, Lotar Radaceanu, Gheorghe Vasilichi, Teodor Iordachescu and Stefan Voitec dismissed from the *Politburo of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Chivu Stoica, Petre Borila and Constantin Parvulescu appointed members of the *Politburo of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Mihail Moraru, Tanase Zaharia and Vasile Vaida, dismissed as *Deputy members of the Politburo of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Dumitru Coliu appointed *Deputy member of the Politburo of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Vasile Luca, Teohari Georgescu, Lotar Radaceanu, Iosif Chisinevski, Dumitru Petrescu, Avram Bunaciu, Miron Constantinescu, Constanta Craciun and Alexandru Draghici dismissed from the *Orgburo of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Gheorghe Stoica, Liuba Chisinevski and Nicolae Ceausescu appointed members of the *Orgburo of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Augustin Alexa, Mihail Dalea, Ion Niculi and William Suder dismissed as *alternate members of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*. Gheorghe Stoica, Gisela Vass and Nicolae Ceausescu appointed *alternate members of the C.C. of the Romanian Workers Party*.
- JUNE 2** Constantin Parhon relieved from the post of *Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly*. Dr. Petru Groza elected *Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly* (formerly *Prime Minister*). Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej elected *Prime Minister* (formerly *first Deputy Premier*). Gheorghe Stoica elected *Chairman of the National Assembly*. Stelian Moraru, Vasile Valcu, Costache Moldovan, Miron Banea, Ghita Florea, Gheorghe Cornea and Maria Cinea elected *Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly*.
- JUNE 13** Gheorghe Apostol relieved as *Chairman of the Trade Union Federation*. Stelian Moraru appointed *Chairman of the Trade Union Federation*.

Three important Communists in the Politburo apparently unaffected by the recent political events are Chisinev-schi, Emil Bodnaras and Miron Constantinescu. The outgoing President, Parhon, as well as the incoming Petru Groza, remained unimportant figures in the whole affair. It has been reported that Radio Moscow announced Parhon's request to retire even before Radio Bucharest, and that while the Romanian radio attributed this to "his desire to devote more time to science," the Soviet radio said it was for "reasons of health."

No Simple Pattern of Events

In a report on the significance of the recent purges, an emigre Romanian lawyer has stressed the complexity of political events behind the Iron Curtain:

"It is evident that in the purges of leading figures no simple policy has been followed, and issues remain hopelessly confused. While Ana Pauker is demoted, others escape scot-free. While some Jews are purged, others, such as Chisinev-schi, who was accused of having 'encouraged speculative trade, of frustrating the plan for grain and food deliveries, and of profiting by these measures,' have retained their positions. While Luca is ousted from every office and subject to trial by the Party, others, guilty of the same crimes, are only 'warned.' While the Hungarians Luca and Vaida are removed, another member of this minority group, Alexandru Moghioros, is given the task of writing their epitaph. And while Gheorghiu-Dej's extravagances are smiled on benevolently, Ana Pauker's are considered as placing her 'on the fringe of aristocracy.'

Leftist and Rightist Deviations

"Further complicating these issues is the fact that the indictment against Ana Pauker accuses her of both leftist and rightist deviationism. In short, she was 'neglecting the formation of new collective farms and tolerant to the kulaks,' and at the same time had 'violated the principle of the peasants' voluntary consent in joining collectives.'"

The report contains the following general conclusions:

"Although no rigid pattern of events is manifest, and no change in strategy or tactics connected with them, several general policies can be inferred. It is safe to assume that the outgoing group is being used to bear the burden of unpopularity accumulated in seven years of Communism and Soviet exploitation. By ousting some of the most hated Communists of non-Romanian stock, a pretence is being made of relieving the misery of the people. This is confirmed by the fact that *Pravda* (Moscow), in relating the events in Romania, failed to make any mention of Ana Pauker, indicating that her demotion is being used primarily for Romanian consumption. This use of Ana Pauker accords with Stalin's 'nationalistic' policy of promoting 'native sons' at critical times.

"The incoming group will probably seek popularity among the industrial workers and exact greater sacrifices from the farm population. Increased deliveries for the USSR, for her personnel stationed in Romania, and

for the needs of her Armed Forces in and around Romania are expected to be the price paid to the Soviet Union as proof of the new bosses' trustworthiness. In connection with this, stress will probably be placed on immediate production and deliveries to the State, rather than on totally collectivized production. Coercive measures will undoubtedly be intensified."

The Moscow-Trained Clique

In Bulgaria, the present status of Party leadership throws light on the Sovietization of the Communist movement within the country. According to numerous reports, the nation is ruled by Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov and six other Moscow-trained men. Chervenkov, himself, spent approximately 19 years in the USSR. As a boy he attended Komsomol military courses and then went to the Marx-Lenin Academy in Moscow.

Since 1919 Chervenkov has been an active member of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Then 19 years old, he was instrumental in strengthening Party organizations in the vicinity of Sofia. Between 1923 and 1925 he became a chief organizer of underground Communist youth groups, and, as a member of the Komsomol Central Committee, was head of propaganda work and pamphlets, as well as editor of the newspaper *Budeshte* and the illegal *Soldier's Voice*.

In 1925 Chervenkov emigrated to the Soviet Union where he attended a Comintern "international" school. Soon after, he became Georgi Dimitrov's first assistant and later married Dimitrov's sister. Between 1929 and 1934, he played a main part in the purge of the Trotskyites. From 1938 to 1941 he worked for the Executive Committee of the Cominform and was head of the section for Party Education as well as director of the school for forming Party cadres.

Chervenkov returned to Bulgaria in 1944 and became a member of the Central Committee and the Politburo. As Dimitrov's assistant, he was responsible for reorganizing the Party on a "legal basis" and for carrying out the purge within the Party. After Dimitrov's death, Chervenkov, with the support of the Soviet Union, took over the leadership of the Party. On July 20, 1949, he became Vice-President of the Cabinet, and on February 1, 1950, Prime Minister of Bulgaria. In November, 1950, he was nominated Secretary General of the Party's Central Committee.

The other Soviet-trained leaders surrounding Chervenkov are Deputy Prime Minister General Ivan Michailov, in charge of war potential; Minister of National Defense General Peter Panchovski; Minister of Interior Georgi Tzankov, in charge of the Communist police; Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Republic, Georgi Damianov; Deputy Prime Minister Raiko Damianov, in charge of General Trade Unions; and Dimo Dichev, head of the State Control Commission and the Party police.

Both Michailov and Panchovski emigrated to the USSR after the failure of a Communist uprising in 1923 and during World War II fought with the Russians as members of the Ukrainian Army which entered Bulgaria. Georgi

Damianov spent many years in the USSR in the Communist Bureau in Exile as a military specialist. And Dicho Dichev received his experience in the USSR as an NKVD organizer.

Liquidation of Communists Trained in Bulgaria

In connection with the supremacy of these men, an exiled Bulgarian diplomat has emphasized the continuous liquidation of Bulgarian Communists trained within the country:

"In September, 1944, when the Bulgarian Communist Party took part in the coalition government of the Fatherland Front, its leadership was in the hands of Communists trained in Bulgaria. At the head of this group was Traicho Kostov, Secretary General of the Party Central Committee and Deputy Prime Minister. When Georgi Dimitrov arrived from the USSR in November, 1945, he took over the post of Secretary General, and the Sovietization of the Bulgarian Communist Party began. Kostov and other members of the old guard, such as Minister of Finance Ivan Stefanov, Minister of Industry Petko Kunin and Minister of Construction Manol Sekelarov were subsequently charged with deviationism. In 1949 Kostov was sentenced to death and the others to varying terms of imprisonment.

"According to Kremlin strategy, the Peoples' Democracies must be molded in the economic, social, cultural and political pattern of the Soviet Union. The people who are considered equal to the task are faithful Stalinists. Thus, in February, 1952, for example, Sava Ganovski and Kiril Dramaliev were dismissed because of inefficiency in the task of indoctrination and because of failures in the Sovietization of science and art. Another reason for their dismissal was their cautious resentment of the leadership of the pro-Soviet Communists in Bulgaria.

"This purge of the old guard and the Sovietization of the Party is not yet complete. Until all of the old, local Communists are removed, the officials in the Kremlin will not be content. Propaganda in favor of Chervenkov and the others emphasizes their pro-Stalinist inclinations. Illustrative of this is an editorial in the June 1 issue of *Rabotnichesko Delo* which reads: 'In Vuklo Chervenkov our people see a firm and courageous Bolshevik, a model Communist, who is fully devoted to Marxist-Leninism, to our great liberator, the Soviet Union, and to Stalin.'

"To make certain of the loyalty of these pro-Stalinist leaders, the Kremlin has them spy on one another and places them under the supervision of Moscow superiors. Michailov sees that Chervenkov carries out Cominform line, Panchovski is directly subordinate to the Soviet General Staff, and Tzankov receives orders from Beria, the notorious head of the Soviet MVD."

Pro-Stalinist Leaders in Hungary

Similarly in Hungary, the four chief political figures are Soviet-trained Communists. Secretary General of the Party Matyas Rakosi, Chairman of the People's Economic Council Erno Gero, Chairman of the Planning Bureau Zoltan

Vas, and chief Party ideologist Josef Revai, who compose this quadrumvirate, spent many years in exile in the USSR. They returned to Hungary only at the end of 1944, when the Red Army entered the country. The rise of this Moscow-trained, pro-Stalinist group was, according to the following report by an exiled member of parliament, finally consolidated in the latter part of 1951, when the elimination of Communists who had fought in the Spanish Civil War and of local Communists was virtually completed. Communists who had affiliations in the West, or whose sphere of activity was limited to Hungary, were removed, along with the Social Democrats who had merged with the Party:

"Liquidations within the Party took place at a much earlier date in Hungary than in the other East-European countries. The purges were carried out in three stages. The first group to be liquidated were Communists who had taken part in the Spanish Civil War or who had returned from the West after World War II. From 1945 on, two cliques vied for the favors of Moscow. One was headed by Moscow-trained Matyas Rakosi, and the other by Laszlo Rajk, leader of the illegal Communist Party during the German occupation, and a fighter in the Spanish Civil War. In this struggle, Rajk and his friends were doomed.

Rajk Group Purged

"Soon after the Tito affair in Yugoslavia, the Rajk trial followed in Hungary. On June 16, 1949, Rajk was ousted from the Party and his trial took place the following September. Rajk, Tibor Szonyi, former leader of the Cadre Division, and Andras Szalay, a Party functionary, were condemned to death by hanging. Pal Justus and Lazar Brankov were sentenced to life, and Milan Ogienovics to nine years imprisonment. The cases of Lieutenant General Gyorgy Palfy-Osterreicher, leader of the Military-Political Division and Colonel Bela Korondi were referred to the military court, where both were sentenced to death.

"Immediately after the merger of the Social Democrat Party with the Communist Party, the Social Democrat leaders were given main positions. As soon as their services were no longer needed, however, they too were liquidated. The first to be put out of the way was Arpad Szakasits, President of the People's Republic and Chairman of the Hungarian Workers' Party. His purge was followed by that of Gyorgy Marosan, a Deputy Secretary General of the Hungarian Workers' Party and Minister of Light Industry. The next to be arrested were Minister of Justice Istvan Riesz, Chairman of the Planning Bureau Imre Vajda, and former MPs Pal Schiffer and Ferenc Revesz. In the summer of 1950, the generals who had sympathized with Rajk or with the Social Democrats were also eliminated.

"Local" Communists "Disappear"

"The next to be liquidated were Communist leaders trained within the country. The resolution issued by the Presidium on January 25, 1951, which listed the names of new Deputy Ministers and omitted many of

the former Undersecretaries, was a forecast of coming events. After the Second Party Congress in February, 1951, it became even more evident that the Moscow-trained team wanted to get rid of the so-called 'Hungarian' Communists. In short, Kremlin policy was to be enforced by Soviet-trained leaders.

"Soon after the Congress, Gabor Peter, head of the State Defense Authority, had the 'Hungarian' Communists arrested one after the other. On April 21, 1951, former Undersecretaries Geza Losonczy and Ferenc Donath were imprisoned along with Szilard Ujhelyi, a section head in the Ministry of People's Welfare, and Minister of the Interior Sandor Zold. On May 12, 1951, Foreign Minister Gyula Kallai and former Minister of the Interior Janos Kadar were jailed. On November 11, 1951, Undersecretary of Agriculture Mihaly Erdei mysteriously disappeared. Police general Istvan Ratulovszky as well as the military commandants of Pecs, Szombathely and Kaposvar and a number of army and police officers were other victims of the purges.

"After the liquidation of these three groups, all key-positions were occupied by Moscow-trained Communists."

Bierut, Berman and Rokossowski

The following report on Boleslaw Bierut, Jacob Berman and Konstanty Rokossowski provide some information on the lives of the three top Polish Communists. Compiled from various refugee sources by an exiled Polish journalist, it stresses the Soviet training of all three members of the Politburo:

"Polish President Bierut, the No. 1 Communist in the present regime, was born in 1892 in a village near Lublin. Before he became a professional revolutionist, he was a mason, a porter, a printer and finally a land-surveyor. Working for the Communist Party as far back as 1923, he was arrested several times for subversive activities for Soviet Russia and fled to his protectors on more than one occasion. The outbreak of World War II found him in the USSR. In 1939, during the Soviet invasion of Eastern Poland, he was the organizer of Bolshevik terror against Poles, Jews and Ukrainians who opposed the Communist order. Following Kremlin instructions, he organized the Polish Workers' Party [Communist] in German-occupied Poland, awaiting the arrival of the Soviet Armies. Informed in advance by the Russians, he left Warsaw in time to avoid being involved in the uprising of the Polish resistance movement. After the Soviet occupation of Poland, he became the Kremlin's Polish proconsul and in February, 1947, was chosen President of the country.

"Jacob Berman, chief ideologist of the regime and the 'grey eminence' behind the scenes of the Politburo, has been a faithful Soviet agent since his early youth. The son of a rich banker, he studied law in Warsaw and after graduation continued his education in the Soviet Union. In 1939, during the Polish-German War he escaped to Russia, where until 1941 he was editor of the Polish Communist newspaper *Sztandar Wolnosci*. After the German-Soviet war broke out he was appointed by the Kremlin as one of the leaders of the Union of Polish Patriots, then set up in the Soviet Union under Com-

munist auspices. Since the war he has been in Poland and is at present Undersecretary of State in the Presidium of the government.

"Marshall Konstanty Rokossowski reached the peak of his military career during World War II. Serving as a commander of the Red Army, he fought on the Moscow front and on the Don, and is credited with driving the Germans out of Poland, the Ukraine and East Prussia. Although born in Poland, Rokossowski spent most of his life in Russia. In his early youth he was drafted into the Czarist Army and took up the career of a professional soldier. After the Bolshevik Revolution he remained in the Soviet Union instead of returning to Poland, which by that time had gained its independence from Russia.

"In 1937, charged with participating in an alleged Red Army plot with Tukhachevski and Blucher, Rokossowski is said to have been imprisoned for a long time. Cleared of charges against him before the beginning of the war, he was given assignments in the Red Army, with the rank of Major General. A few years after the war he was transferred to Poland on Kremlin orders and told to resume the Polish nationality. Since November, 1949, he has held the position of Minister of National Defense, in charge of all the Armed Forces in the country."

II. HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HATE CAMPAIGN

Communist vilification of the West has currently reached an all-time high. Telegrams and protests against the imprisonment of French Communist leader Jacques Duclos comprised the bulk of recent attacks and were supplemented throughout the Satellite area by organized mass demonstrations of the "peoples' indignation." West Germany's signing of the General Treaty was another target of bitter Communist denunciations, marked in general by a new emphasis on West-European hatred of the US and insistence on the strength of the Communist movement in France and Italy.

The Bucharest publication *Romania Libera*, May 30, published an editorial entitled "Jacques Duclos Must Be Set Free Immediately," alleging that the French people hate the "Western imperialists" and share the ideals of the French Communist Party.

"The American aggressors realize that the French people will never waver from Maurice Thorez's pronouncement: 'The French people will never bear arms against the Soviet Union. . . .'

"The French people are fighting to liberate Duclos from the jail where he was imprisoned by the American bandits and the treacherous Pinay government. The French people are fighting for France's honor and freedom, and for peace throughout the world.

"After signing the contractual agreement with the Bonn government . . . after rebuilding the Nazi Wehrmacht, after appointing the sinister strategist of bacteriological warfare to head NATO . . . the warmongers of

World War III have added to their infamies by arresting the leader of the French people. . . .

"The fight for peace must be intensified . . . in order to [destroy] the plans of the Anglo-American conspirators. . . . In the name of this struggle, the Romanian people demand that Comrade Jacques Duclos be set free immediately."

"We Have Always Loved France"

Similarly, in Czechoslovakia, the press has declared that the French Communist Party expresses the desires of the entire French nation. Departing from their usual emphasis on the "decadence of western culture," Party organs have paid special attention to French art and literature as symbols of the country's glorious past. Typical of this kind of propaganda is the following article by the composer Vaclav Dobias in the June 6 issue of *Rude Pravo*:

"We have always loved France and we still do love her—France of the Great Revolution, France of the Encyclopedists and of Victor Hugo. We love the France of Romain Rolland and Anatole France, of Barbusse and Aragon. . . .

"We love and we always shall love the France of the miners, dockworkers, and progressive scientists, the France which holds high the flag of liberty, democracy and peace. . . . We love France because we share the ideals which are revealed in the works of her greatest writers. . . .

"Prisons are not for those who fight for peace, freedom, and happiness for the French people. Prisons are for those who jailed Jacques Duclos and Andre Stil, for those who are selling France to Wall Street—for the enemies of France, peace and mankind."

And linking this propaganda with the contractual agreement with West Germany, *Rude Pravo*, June 3, commented:

". . . The question of Anglo-American guarantees towards France against the revival of German revenge aims was brought to light in connection with the signing of the war agreement. The fact that the partners of this agreement must have guarantees against each other proves that there are terrible conflicts [within the Western camp]. France is haunted by the shadow of another Locarno, of another Munich, of another tragedy of France. . . ."

In a telegram decrying Duclos' arrest, the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, including Bierut, Rokossowski and Cyrankiewicz, assured the French Communist Party of their "support of the people's protest against this unprecedented provocation." One observer has remarked that this step is an interesting innovation in international diplomacy, since at no time previous to this have high government officials interfered in the internal affairs of another country under the pretext of a telegram from a fraternal political Party. As recorded by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), May 30, the Communist interpretation of the psychology behind Duclos' imprisonment read:

". . . The arrest of Jacques Duclos proves the weakness of French government circles and their American bosses. [Both] fear the French people's anger and the power of the patriotic movement headed by the Party of Maurice Thorez. By the kind of welcome they gave to the plague-general and war criminal Ridgway, the people of France clearly demonstrated that they refuse to be, and never will be, cannon fodder . . . of the united assassins of Kojé. . . . With all our hearts we are united with you in this holy struggle against the black forces of reaction and war."

Propaganda Used To Increase Production

In Hungary also, commentary on Duclos' arrest was profuse and vehement. On May 30 all Budapest dailies published the text of the Hungarian National Peace Council's protest to the French government and mass demonstrations were reported throughout the country. *Magyar Nemzet* of the same date gave an account of a rally at the Kobanya Textile Factory near Budapest:

"Locksmith Gyula Cseszneki addressed the meeting, his voice hoarse with passion: 'The executioners of the Korean death camp, the signers of the German treaty, and the men who imprisoned Comrade Stil and Comrade Duclos are one and the same. We answer these base acts with acts of peace. I offer to repair a machine in addition to my work under the plan.'

"His words were followed by frantic applause and the factory resounded with the shout, loud enough to split the walls of Duclos' prison, 'Liberty for Comrades Stil and Duclos.'

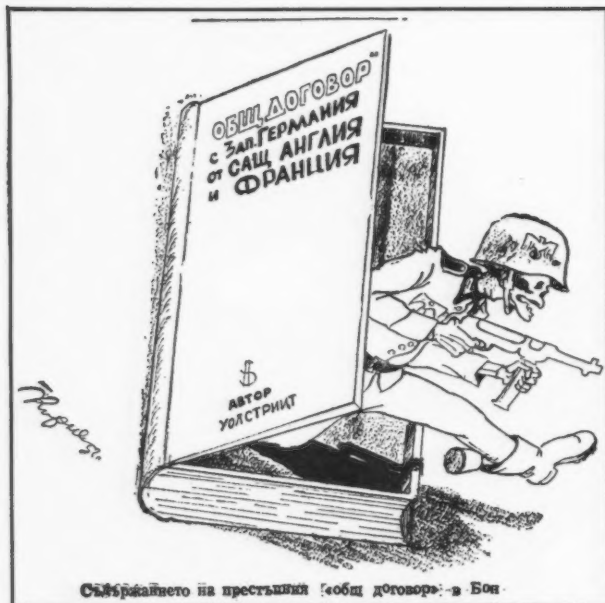
"Karoly Pap, head of the lathe-operators group, is a grey-haired man. He said: 'We cannot stand by idly while the imperialists commit these filthy, outrageous deeds. I promise in the name of my group that better work will be our answer.'"

Quoting a letter sent by the Hungarian National Peace Council to the Governor of the Santeo Prison, the Radio Budapest commentator, June 12, said:

"'We have learned with consternation and indignation about the attempts on the lives and health of Comrades Duclos and Stil. Gas is leaking into their cells. . . . Hungarian working millions are convinced that those who violate human and international laws will not escape being called to account.'"

An article published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), May 30, read as follows:

"The arrest of [Jacques Duclos] occurred only a day after the arrival of the plague general and murderer Ridgway. This arrest reveals the [French government's] fear that their master will notice their failure to fulfill promises made in return for gold and dollars—promises to prepare the people for a new slaughter. . . . The French police tried to prevent a meeting between the General-purchaser and the people he had come to buy. Despite police efforts, however, the people met Ridgway. . . . Thousands of rioters hindered his way, shouting 'Down with the instigator of war.'"



The above cartoon with the caption "The Content of the 'Mutual Contract' in Bonn," was published in the Bulgarian newspaper, Zemedelsko Zname, May 30. The author's name, printed below the dollar sign, is Wall Street.

General Treaty Declared Invalid

One of the protests of the Hungarian government against the contractual agreement took the form of a denial of the treaty's validity. In a front page editorial on May 28, the newspaper *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), wrote:

"The German people have not hesitated to vilify the base deeds of Adenauer and his government. This treaty is equivalent to an alliance in preparation for war. By signing this treaty, Adenauer and his imperialist bosses want to block the German people's road to peace and unity by bringing back the bayonets, tanks and mercenary armies of militarism and Fascism. . . . However, this treaty is by no means binding on the German or the French people. The Germans and all the peoples of Europe look with greatest suspicion and hostility on Bonn, where all of Europe has been betrayed in the spirit of a new ignominious Munich."

On May 30, *Szabad Nep* declared: "The German people have heroically resisted and protested against the base treaty. We have reports on numerous strikes and rallies. All of Germany is a seething cauldron."

The Czechoslovak newspaper *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 28, called the contract a formal treaty providing for the permanent occupation of West Germany by the Atlantic Forces:

"The contractual agreement offers the Western Powers unlimited rights to assign their Armed Forces to West German territory. They have the right to proclaim a state of emergency and to take over the government whenever they find it necessary. According to this agreement, the Bonn government pledged to refund

expenses connected with the maintenance of the occupation armies of the Western Powers as well as the expenses resulting from the maintenance of the West German Army within the ill-famed European Army. . . . The contractual agreement in no way guarantees the independence of West Germany. It is a formal [restatement] of the occupation statute . . . and maintains West Germany's subjugation to the Western Powers."

And the Bulgarian newspaper *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), May 27, wrote:

"The German people are now threatened with permanent division, with the continuance of the military occupation of West Germany and its transformation into a military base of the American-British warmongers. . . . In their struggle against this anti-people's contract, the Germans have the people of the Soviet Union and of the Peoples' Democracies on their side. . . ."

The Polish Communist newspaper *Sztandar Mlodych* (Warsaw), June 2, asserted that the US has recently flooded East Germany with spies:

"The imperialists have intensified their attempts to hinder the peaceful development of the German Democratic Republic—the first peaceful state in German history. . . . For the past several days a procession of American agents—spies, diversionists, saboteurs and terrorists—have appeared in the courts of the German Democratic Republic. Although the crimes they committed were varied, the source of authority was always the same—the American imperialists. . . ."

"Taking advantage of the poverty existing among West German youth . . . the imperialists are making them docile instruments for their own use [by recruiting them as spies]. . . . The latest resolution of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic . . . aims at the defense of the interests of the people . . . against this diversion and sabotage. Putting a stop to these crimes is another step in strengthening peace."

Anti-Americanism Defined

Excerpts from other anti-West editorials illustrate equally well the general outlines of the hate campaign. In Hungary, Ivan Boldizsar, editor-in-chief of *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), wrote a June 15 front page editorial on the subject of anti-Americanism:

"Anti-Americanism is no longer the expression of only the peoples' hatred of the US. Anti-Americanism now expresses the hatred of the governments living by the grace of the US, and even of the [world] press [which merely poses] as conservative, Fascist or liberal. In short, it expresses the hatred of all whom the French, Italian and Belgian people brand 'the American Party.' The main reason for this world-wide anti-American feeling is that American rulers have finally cast away the mask of charity and friendship they previously used to hide their bankers' faces when Marshall Aid was announced. Today America no longer supports, gives advice or asks favors. It simply issues orders to the European governments. Today, even West Europeans who are politically inexperienced see that their governments have no power,

that they are not independent, and that they themselves have been reduced from citizens to colonial natives who can be exploited."

In a June 14 editorial, the Hungarian newspaper *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) discussed the supporters of American presidential candidates:

"Eisenhower has numerous backers who in addition to being enthusiastic are willing to contribute millions of dollars. . . . However, American capital would not be at a loss even if a Democratic candidate were to win the campaign. Harriman, No. 1 candidate of the Democrats, maintains close connections with Rockefeller and Morgan, as well as numerous other companies. It is said that candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties accept their candidacy exclusively 'at the call of the nation to protect the interests of the little man,' and of course, 'to protect the rights of millions of American citizens.' As far as the millions are concerned, they are right."

Contradicting the reports in *L'Humanite** about the decrease in French Communist Party members, an anti-West editorial in Romania's *Scanteia*, June 8, announced the following:

"All over the world Communist Parties are increasing their membership. This is a law of historical development. As Comrade Stalin has said: '[This] increase is not incidental—it is a natural phenomenon.' . . . Unmasking the treacherous and anti-national policy of the reactionary governments . . . and the vile activities of the Social Democrat rightists, the Communist Parties of France and Italy have become the largest, most popular and most powerful parties in their countries. . . . In the first few months of this year, the French Communist Party received 25,000 new members. In the last three months, 100,000 new members joined the Italian Communist Party."

Polish President Boleslaw Bierut delivered an address to the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party on June 14-15 entitled "Strengthening the Ties Between the Town and Countryside at the Present Stage of Socialist Construction." The Committee adopted a resolution that Chairman Bierut's speech would be a guide for Party policy. Despite the title of the speech, a major part of it was concerned with international affairs. In the excerpt quoted below, Bierut's analysis coincides with Kremlin line:

"During the period . . . when decay is rapidly permeating the whole capitalist system, imperialism is resorting to flagrant and depraved violence, trampling on all human rights and moral principles. It is resorting to Fascist methods. The deceptions, fraud and provocation used by the warmongers are becoming ever more hideous. . . .

"Last year the . . . contradictions rending the world of imperialism became even more acute, and constitute an obstacle to the American bid for world domination. . . . These contradictions revolve about three axes: contradictions arising from the Atlantic Pact in Europe; those linked with US policy in the Far East; and those

arising from the situation in the Middle East. . . .

"In contrast to the policy of the imperialists, our policy—the policy of countries in the camp of Socialism—defends peace, freedom and sovereignty at every step. . . . At every international conference we put forward constructive ideas of peaceful cooperation. We support peaceful cooperation between different political and economic systems. Replying to questions put to him by editors of American newspapers, Comrade Stalin said: . . . 'The peaceful coexistence of capitalism and Communism is quite possible provided there is a mutual desire to cooperate, readiness to carry out undertaken commitments and observance of the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.'"

III. MILITARY INSTALLATIONS

Soviet privileges, priorities and controls are stressed in numerous items on military activities in Communist Eastern Europe. The recent increase in propaganda for war preparedness and the emphasis on so-called "sports" organizations are reportedly supplemented by more concrete measures, such as the mobilization of industry, intensified military training and the construction of defense installations.

Military operations in Romania during the past year have been described in the following report by an escaped pilot, who has accented Red Army activities in the Satellite area:

"About one year ago, military preparations in Romania were frequently and anxiously discussed by the international press. The Romanian Armed Forces, painstakingly purged under the direction of Moscow-trained General Emil Bodnarus, had been recast into a replica of the Soviet Army. At present, the preparatory work which caused so much anxiety in Western circles is almost finished and Soviet bases have been firmly established throughout Romania.

"Red Army units, variously estimated at 300,000 to 500,000, are stationed within the country, primarily along the Southern and Southwestern borders. These units are constantly shifted, sometimes to Hungary and Bulgaria, so that their exact whereabouts cannot always be ascertained. It can be stated without exaggeration, however, that Romania is entirely at the disposal of the Red Army. Thus 16,000 of the 60,000 inhabitants of the Danube city of Giurgiu were recently evacuated overnight in order to provide quarters for Soviet troops. Similarly, the entire railway network is controlled by Russians, and Soviet military trains have priority over all others. Approximately 40 percent of the volume of railroad traffic is devoted to the needs of the Red Army, and special Russian railroad men, who number about 2,000 in Bucharest alone, work for the Soviets. Romanian ports are also entirely at the disposal of Red Army troops whenever necessary. In the first week of May, work in the port of Constantza came to a standstill while 60,000 Soviet soldiers disembarked from ships and were transported to the west."

The report lists the various military installations com-

*Not circulated in the Satellite area.

pleted and enlarged during the past year. These include airfields, ammunition dumps and railroad lines:

"At least six airstrips with runways about 2½ miles long equipped to support jet planes and heavy bombers have been completed on Romanian territory. A great quantity of Red Army anti-aircraft guns have been brought into the country and have been installed in important areas, such as the Ploesti oil refineries. Ammunition and fuel dumps have been built in protected areas along most of the main communication lines.

"In order to insure rapid transit of Soviet troops, a number of Romanian standard gauge rail lines have been widened to the Soviet gauge and one Russian gauge line has been built across northern Romania directly into Hungary. Besides these, a number of 'structures,' reportedly rocket-launching platforms, have been built in several remote and mountainous districts in the Western and Southern Carpathians."

An increase in the budget for the Romanian Army and an abundance of patriotic "defense" propaganda are other measures taken to assure the military preparedness of the country:

"The military efforts of Romanian Communists correspond to Soviet preparations. Although officially the budget for 1952 lists only 16.4 percent for military expenditures, the actual amount to be spent is 106 billion lei—as compared to 67.9 billion spent in 1951. Furthermore, military cadres have been purged time and again so that the military organization will be 'safe' according to the Communist point of view. The Armed Forces, which consist of about 22-25 divisions, plus two air force divisions and 5 separate armored brigades, have been completely remodelled on the Soviet pattern and Communist leaders have tried to make service in them attractive by clothing and feeding all personnel better than the civilian population.

"At the same time, propaganda has been centered on patriotic lines—that is, on the 'defense of the Fatherland,' rather than on the defense of Socialism. Despite this, so far as the Soviets are concerned, the Romanian Army is not trustworthy and purges steadily continue."

Military Emphasis in Czechoslovakia

News items about Czechoslovakia recount a growing emphasis on pre-military education, the use of police organs as military units and the continued Sovietization of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces. Refugees claim that military indoctrination is being stressed throughout the country in all mass organizations, schools, cultural circles, factories, offices, farms and even in hospitals. A letter from an exiled student now in Vienna describes military training in Slovak universities:

"Since last October army training has been compulsory for all male students and since last January for all female students. Training consists both of lectures and practice and is under the direction of a military board established at every college or university. Students are assigned to courses such as mapping or signalling, and one day a week is devoted to these studies. Night exercises, marches and alerts are also part of the curriculum.

"During vacations students are sent to army camps and pledges are exacted from them to make the army their careers after they are graduated."

Youth Visit Army Camps

High school students are also subjected to military indoctrination. Visits to army camps are featured as part of this campaign and publicized in the press. One of these trips was described by a Moravian boy in the May 15 issue of the youth organ *Pionyrske Noviny*, which included the following excerpt:

"The soldiers showed us some of their exercises. . . . They taught us to dismantle and reassemble rifles. On Sunday the soldiers put on the play 'South of the 38th Parallel' which portrayed the behavior of the Americans in Korea. . . . The soldiers promised us more help in our military training."

Another aspect of intensified military activity in Czechoslovakia is revealed in the following refugee report on the People's Militia:

"Early last April, the militia from several large Prague plants held army-type exercises near Dolni Lomnice, twenty miles from the city. Approximately 1,000 persons, 35 of whom were women, participated. Two ambulances were present on the scene. All the militia men had rifles and pistols, and some were armed with other weapons. The exercises lasted five hours."

The Sovietization of the Czechoslovak Army has been described by an escaped soldier:

"The Sovietization of the Czechoslovak Army was developed in 1950, after the introduction of Soviet drill regulations and disciplinary and administrative manuals. At present, field officers and enlisted men address each other as 'Comrade,' after the Soviet manner. Soldiers must ask permission of their superior before they enter or leave a room, and if a soldier or a unit is commended, the reply must always be 'I serve the people.' These customs as well as the method of mounting guard and drill order are Red Army rules. Officers' insignias are exact duplicates of Soviet insignias and Soviet military terms are used even if there is a Czechoslovak equivalent. All officers are required to learn the Russian language."

According to reports from Hungarian escapees, synchronized military, industrial and air-raid defense measures have been stepped-up in recent months. As described in the following account by a refugee soldier, these measures include the expansion of partisan groups, the raising of the age limit for draftees and the establishment of officers' training courses for members of labor cadres:

"International partisan training brigades are to be moved to new camps and enlarged. Members include both sexes and are of Hungarian, Greek and Yugoslav nationality. Training camps are guarded by Soviet and Hungarian military units, and partisans are strictly forbidden to leave the area.

"Military circles report that the age limit for military service has been raised from 50 to 56 years of age. The

registration of those eligible for service began on March 15.

"Workers' militia units, established in all industrial enterprises, are now organized into five military groups: infantrymen, parachutists, signal corps, telephone operators and motorcycle drivers. All groups are under the supervision of a Soviet major.

Mobilization of Industry

"Following Russian orders, the Hungarian government is diverting an ever-increasing number of industrial workers to the construction sites of war material plants in an effort to step-up armament production. Hungary is also to become a repair shop for various types of war materials, and plants for this purpose have been built. Some of these are underground.

"Large plants have been converted to armament production. The Gyor Wagon Car plant, which normally built railway cars, now produces cannon parts. The Matyas Rakosi iron and metal plant is currently making large quantities of munitions and grenades, and a lamp factory in Budapest is producing explosives of all sorts, as well as pistols and light automatic infantry weapons. A new underground small arms factory has been built in the mountains near Miskolc with its own power station.

"In addition to these measures, air-raid precautions are being taken. Water storage tanks, out of use since the war, are being opened and repaired. Anti-aircraft guns have been installed in many places since May."

"House of Culture"

News from Rome describes the building of military roads and coastal defense measures in Poland:

"All transit roads through Warsaw are specially supervised by the military authorities and the Soviets are constructing a huge 32 story concrete building on a main road near the Vistula crossing. Officially, this building will be called 'the House of Culture,' said to be a gift of Soviet Russia. Actually, the material and manpower used for its construction is Polish and the building will probably be used as a Soviet underground military headquarters.

"For many months huge transports of cement have been shipped to the Baltic coast, especially to the area near Stettin. The entire Polish production of cement is now supervised by military authorities. A large percentage of the output is shipped to the Soviet Union.

"In some places on the coast east and west of Stettin, the Soviets are constructing coastal defenses similar to the Atlantic wall built by the Germans on the west coast of France during the war. Some Polish engineers engaged in work in the coastal area expressed the opinion that several constructions will be used as launching sites for guided missiles.

"During the past few months, part of the Polish population has been transferred from the coast to the interior, and those Poles who have not been moved are under strict supervision.

"All Polish centers of foreign trade have special military departments attached to them directly connected with the Ministry of National Defense. These military

departments are used to transmit special orders concerning purchases abroad of products which would be of interest to the military authorities. They also handle the transportation of imported goods which are intended for factories under the supervision of the Defense Ministry.

"All sources agree that factories in Southwestern Poland still have the No. 1 priority on new constructions and equipment. Industrial power is being built up as much as possible so that this area can be used as a supply base for the Red Army stationed in Western Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia."

Reports on the Lithuanian paramilitary organization DOSAAF describe two new kinds of training initiated in April. One kind deals with propaganda teams for the Army. These teams are allegedly equipped with phonograph records, slides and film apparatus. The other new section trains members in photography and draftsmanship. Equipment was reportedly supplied from Kiev. One letter from a refugee in Sweden said that in the month of May, 80 Komsomol members in Vilna and over 100 in Kaunas underwent this training.

IV. MEETINGS AND RESOLUTIONS

Communist meetings during the past month have reflected various regime policies. In both Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, national front organizations received attention as instruments for reaching and controlling the masses. Leaders of the women's organization in Hungary announced that one of the main tasks in the following year was to recruit farm labor, and anti-American indoctrination of youth was a major feature in a rally of Polish Boy Scouts.

Other aspects of Party activities included changes in cadre policies. Czechoslovak officials emphasized the importance of including "bourgeois experts" in working cadres, and in Hungary cadre work was partially decentralized.

Zapotocky Lauds National Front

In Czechoslovakia, the role of the National Front, which formally consists of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the People's (Catholic) Party, the Communist Party and the Slovak Renaissance Party, has been played up in recent issues of the press as a vital feature of Socialist life. In a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Action Committee of the National Front, held in Brno on May 15, Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky, in answer to those who criticized the organization as superfluous, praised the work of the Front in building Socialism. An excerpt from Zapotocky's speech as it appeared in *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 16, said:

"The Reborn National Front effectively accomplished the February [1948] putsch, thereby saving our Republic from . . . disruption. . . . It solved the relationship between the Czechs and Slovaks . . . and between the

Church and the State, despite all the inimical intentions of the Rome hierarchy. . . . The National Front helped in the fulfillment of the Two Year Plan and tries to fulfill Gottwald's First Five Year Plan. . . . The National Front has contributed to our friendship with the Soviet Union . . . and crushed the plots of the spies in the service of Western capitalists, who wanted to ruin our friendly . . . relationship with our liberator, the USSR. We need our Reborn National Front to help us in future tasks. . . . We must have better cooperation from all our citizens. regardless of their political affiliations. . . ."

Catholics Urged to Support the Regime

The People's Party, led by pro-regime Catholics, received the special attention of Communist leaders, who assigned this group the task of "persuading" the broad masses of Catholics to actively support the regime. In connection with this, a special preparatory course was arranged in Teplice for regional functionaries of the People's Party, who will direct this operation. According to the newspaper *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), May 7, the tenor of the propaganda will be:

"... the importance of the Socialization of rural districts; the importance of friendship with the Soviet Union; the importance of the struggle for peace and for the defense of the country. . . ."

"Party functionaries will educate a wide circle of Party members. . . . This will not be an easy task, but it is an honorable and distinguished one. . . ."

Purges in Slovak Renaissance Party

In line with these efforts to play up the National Front and to make it a reliable instrument for controlling non-Communist masses, purges are being carried out in the Slovak Renaissance Party. As reported by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 29, the executive committee of the Party held a meeting on May 20 for the purpose of discussing internal and organizational problems. At the conference, the committee "accepted the resignation" of Jan Sevcik who held the post of Party Chairman:

"He was expelled from the Party because of violations of the policy of the National Front and of political-organizational directives of the Slovak Renaissance Party. . . . The Executive Committee also accepted the resignation of Jan Valek from the post of Secretary General. [The Committee] decided on his expulsion because he had been appointed to his post in a non-democratic manner. He was also found guilty of violations of the policy of the Reborn National Front."

Commissioner of Health Josef Kysely was elected the new Chairman and Josef Gajdosik was made Secretary General. Eleven days later, on May 31, *Rude Pravo* reported that Sevcik had also been dismissed from his post of Deputy Prime Minister and as head of the State Office for Physical Training and Sports.

An exiled Czechoslovak member of parliament has made the following comment on Sevcik's purge:

"The liquidation of Sevcik is a typical case of a fellow-traveller being dismissed after having fulfilled the tasks assigned him. During World War II Sevcik became acquainted with the Soviet Minister in Slovakia, Pushkin, and under his influence, supported the Russians. He took part in the Slovak uprising and immediately after the war was appointed Slovak Commissioner for Postal Services, and later Commissioner for Public Health. In 1946 he became Deputy Chairman of the National Assembly. During all this time he was a loyal reporter to Communist leaders on all the happenings in the Executive Committee of the Slovak Democratic Party. During the Communist coup in February, 1948, he acted as a Communist Quisling and after the coup became Chairman of the Slovak Renaissance Party."

"Bourgeois Experts" To Be Included in Cadres

A new cadre policy was announced by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky in a speech published by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 7. (See Economic Section for main text of the address.) Quoting Lenin, Zapotocky stressed the need to use "bourgeois-trained technicians and experts" in the construction of the State, and condemned Rudolph Slansky and his associates for ruthlessly eliminating these people from production:

"[Lenin said:] that it is impossible to perform reconstruction without the support of the broad masses—but he also said, 'It is impossible to perform reconstruction without the assistance of bourgeois experts . . . without the assistance of old technicians and experts, even though they have been raised in a bourgeois milieu under capitalist conditions.'"

Slansky is accused of widening the rift between the masses and the bourgeois intelligentsia:

"But did Slansky and his clique use the old experts to assist in building Socialism? No! Like dictators, they ruthlessly eliminated, under the pretext of fighting the bourgeoisie . . . honest scientists, teachers, technicians and experts who were in favor of the Republic and of increasing production. Slansky and his associates removed these people whenever they were convinced that these men would not help in damaging the Republic and the people. In line with their treacherous policy, they tried to increase the rift between the working masses and the technical and scientific men in order to hamper the progress of Socialism."

"So far as the workers' cadres are concerned, they spread the erroneous idea that the workers' background would suffice for their assuming responsible positions, regardless of whether or not these workers had sufficient knowledge or practical experience."

In conclusion, Zapotocky quoted Malenkov's Report of 1941 on the "Tasks of Party Organizations in Industry and Transportation."

"It is necessary to put an end to the bureaucratic paper checking of the workers. . . . The workers . . . must be evaluated according to their work and not according to questionnaires. Even now, despite Party orders, many Party and economic organs pay too much attention to a worker's family background . . . instead

of his individual and political abilities . . . when making appointments."

Hungarian Cadre Section in Party Abolished

On May 2, the Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party issued a decree abolishing cadre sections and the functions of cadre secretaries within the Party's Central Committee. An Hungarian observer has pointed out that this resolution will result in the decentralization of cadre work and succeed in making the heads of all local Party organizations responsible for the work and replenishment of cadres within their own sphere of competence. According to the May 4 issue of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, Hungarian Party cadre sections, as stipulated by the decree, will cease activities by August 1:

"The large-scale, mass re-grouping of the cadres within the Party has virtually been completed. Party cadres are becoming more stabilized. On the whole, cadre sections have successfully performed their task of adequately selecting and distributing cadres necessary for the consolidation of Party and State organizations. The latter, as well as the majority of mass organizations, having benefited from seven years working experience . . . are able to replenish the ranks of cadres themselves through the education and advanced training of workers in their own field, and with the cooperation of the ever increasing number of intellectuals who are being graduated from universities and high schools."

An exiled Hungarian lawyer has said that for a long while the shortage of cadres was a constant subject of complaints. "Although the cadre problem is now said to be solved, the truth is that the central cadre sections were unable to cope with the numerous problems that arose. Until now, heads of concerns, offices, basic organizations, etc., called upon Party headquarters for the replenishment of cadres, but now they will have to draw upon their own resources. This is a further reinforcement of the system of one-man responsibility, and an indication that local Party organizations are considered to be sufficiently strong."

"Women Must Work . . ."

The Third Congress of the Hungarian women's mass organization, MNDSZ, opened on May 24. At present, membership in the organization has reportedly exceeded 1,000,000 as contrasted to the approximate 400,000 listed in 1949. Despite this increase, however, complaints voiced at the Congress indicate that internal organization is not satisfactory and that the actual number of active workers is small. One of the main speakers at the Congress was Mrs. Istvan Vass, secretary general of the association, who discussed shortcomings and the main tasks of the organization in the following year. In her broadcast over Radio Budapest, May 25, she stressed, in particular, the need to include peasant women in the movement:

"One deficiency is the neglect of regular group activities. Members have failed to attend meetings . . . and leaders are often less enthusiastic and less active than

the women. Another failure is the insufficient number of working peasant women [in touch with the organization]. We are also unable to achieve definite results in winning over the urban, intellectual strata of women. . . .

"Our organization must show a courageous and militant spirit in protecting the rights of women. . . . Let us explain to Hungarian women that they can enjoy equal rights only if they show good results in production. . . . In the future, the rural areas will be the most significant fields of activity for the MNDSZ. . . . It is vitally important to recruit female labor for work on State farms and machine stations."

Similarly, Istvan Hidas, Secretary of the Budapest Communist Party Committee, made a speech at the Congress, in which he stressed the importance of recruiting women for production. As quoted by *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), May 27, he said:

"Our Party expects women to play an ever increasing role in the solution of our manifold problems. . . . Our Party invites hundreds of thousands of Hungarian women, tens and tens of thousands of housewives to join in production. Our Party expects women to encourage participation in competitions, to fight for the over-fulfillment of the Plan. Peasant women and girls should make the producers' cooperatives flourish and must fight for bumper crops in the coming weeks and months. They must also fight for discipline in compulsory deliveries."

Session of Hungarian National Assembly

A session of the Hungarian National Assembly began on May 27. From an account of the proceedings, it is clear that the Assembly is a sounding board for the Communist Party line, rather than a national policy-making body. Minister without portfolio and President of the People's Economic Council, Erno Gero, introduced a bill on centralized State control, and Minister of Justice Erik Molnar introduced a bill regulating marriages and civil court rulings. In recording the Assembly's activities, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), May 29-30, quoted Gero as saying that "centralized State Control will promote the observance of legality and the consolidation of State discipline":

"[It must also promote] the protection of social property of the workers, thrifty management, and the elimination of bureaucratic methods, as well as enforce personal responsibility.

"Comrade Sebestyeny emphasized the fact that State control will not permit the transgression of laws because of carelessness, irresponsibility or criminal intentions. . . .

"We must also see to it that directives from [higher organs] do not become merely decrees on paper. We must fight against the indifference of the workers, against a soulless bureaucratic treatment of affairs. . . ."

"Bourgeois Red-Tape Will Be Eliminated"

In discussing the new bill for civil court rulings, Communist MP Endre Toth criticized the old rulings as

"typically bourgeois" reflections of the "capitalist economic system":

"[Their] extraordinary complexity and intricacy, their loopholes . . . [and] obscure decrees . . . allowed lawsuits to drag on indefinitely. This was an advantage for those who could afford lengthy litigations, but the less prosperous party inevitably was the loser.

"The new Bill is fundamentally different from the old ones. The new procedure guarantees the rights of the citizens, and enables the broad masses of workers to take part in jurisdiction. Justice is the basis of every lawsuit. Civil legal proceedings are simplified and red-tape has been eliminated. The system of legal people's assessors will be introduced in civil legislation."

The new marriage bill, not yet published, will, according to emigre circles, probably facilitate divorce. The speaker at the Assembly, Laszlo Csala, reciting from Communist rote, said that "the Bill will enforce the principle of Socialist conjugal rights and considers matrimony to be a free and voluntary union between man and woman."

Fatherland Front to Increase Membership

In Bulgaria, the Third Congress of the mass organization, the Fatherland Front, took place in Sofia, May 28-30. According to Radio Sofia, on the eve of the Congress members of the organization put up "thousands of posters, slogans, portraits and flags" to express the "great upswing in industry and agriculture, and the joyful, happy life of our children and workers." Main speaker on the occasion was Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov who underscored alleged controversies weakening the capitalist camp and paid tribute to Soviet aid and Bulgarian-Soviet solidarity. After these preliminaries, Chervenkov called for improved work in the Fatherland Front and criticized the organization's exclusive membership policy. As quoted by *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), May 29, he said:

"The Fatherland Front has adopted some rules which are closing the door to non-Party circles. Thus, a strict regime has been established which in many cases is not attractive to those joining the organization for the first time. In this way, the acceptance of new members has been complicated.

"Without keeping in mind the differences in the discipline, structure, tasks and functions which exist between the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front, the latter is copying mistakes and shortcomings of the Party and methods which are proper only for the Party and not for the Fatherland Front. . . . Fatherland Front workers must educate those new members . . . whose prejudices and habits are often doubtful. The main task of the Fatherland Front is to concentrate on close contact with the masses. It must attract non-Party peasants. . . ."

New Entrance Regulations

Following this speech, on May 30, Radio Sofia broadcast new entrance regulations:

"In the past all Fatherland Front candidate-members were required to submit a written application signed by

two guarantors and to fill out a detailed declaration. In the future, candidate members will be accepted on the basis of a simple written request without any guarantors. This simplified procedure will undoubtedly facilitate the process of acquiring new members in all Fatherland Front organizations."

An exiled Bulgarian journalist has described the composition of the Fatherland Front Committee and the organization's role in the Communist regime:

"This new move to increase membership in the organization is obviously an attempt to represent the Bulgarian masses as supporters of Communism, and to strengthen the Party's relationship with, and control over the people.

"The National Committee of the Fatherland Front is composed of 36 delegates, three from each of the 12 districts in the country. In principle, all member parties [the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Agrarian Union—Communist section, the Social Democrats who have merged with the Communists and the 'Zveno' Party] are to have equal representation in the Committee. Actually, the Communist Party has more than 25 of the 36 seats. District representation is also valid only in theory, since the Committee members are leading politicians and often have little to do with the districts they allegedly represent. The President and the Secretary General of the Committee are, respectively, Ferdinand Kozovski, President of the National Assembly, and Dobri Bodurov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. These two Communists control the organization while the other executive positions are only nominal and are granted to the non-Communist members.

"To a certain extent, the Fatherland Front is an official executive organ of the Communist Party. When a member of the National Assembly or a Minister loses the support of the Communist Party, for instance, the National Committee of the Fatherland Front hands in a petition claiming that 'the people have lost trust in their representative, and want him to be dismissed from his post.' Naturally, such a petition is always accepted by the Council of Ministers.

"Besides this, the Fatherland Front organizes Communist campaigns, such as 'Aid to Korea,' national loans and educational programs."

"Revolutionary Vigilance Is Poor . . ."

An increase in Party members, intensified political work among the masses and greater control of work fulfillment comprised main resolutions adopted at the June meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Radio Sofia, June 7, broadcast the criticisms and resolutions as follows:

"The quality of Party education is not up to the required standard. . . . The percentage of workers in the Party is not adequate. This applies especially to industrial, textile, transportation and construction workers. Very little has been done to adopt new work methods or to organize Socialist competitions. . . . Serious mistakes exist in the work of cadres. The Party committee and lower organizations have not insured the issue of regular instructions to agitators. . . . The work of

Party Committees in improving the workers' revolutionary vigilance is poor. Criticism and self-criticism are at a very low level.

"[Consequently, the following resolutions have been passed:] On-the-spot control of fulfillment of assigned tasks; greater unity between the Party and the collectives; increased responsibility of youth cadres; . . . improvements in the work of the Fatherland Front; . . . an increase in Party members . . . further development of political propaganda among the masses. The workers must be more vigilant and actively participate in criticizing shortcomings."

Failures in Party Records Condemned

In all Communist countries, great emphasis is laid on keeping correct files on Party members and candidates. In Poland, these files are kept in the Party's central organization and in district and municipal committees. A recent article by an instructor of the Central Committee's organizational section condemned serious shortcomings in the records of Party membership which "prevent the records from serving as an auxiliary device in guiding the whole of community life." Published in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), May 26, the editorial read:

" . . . Most district and Municipal Committees do not have personal files on all the comrades residing in their areas. . . . The number of missing personal files is enormous. . . . For instance, in a [certain section] of Warsaw there were about 4,000 comrades who came from other organizations whose personal files were not in the possession of the town section of the Party Committee. . . . Files are not sent from one Committee to another, or are transferred very slowly [when members change their residence]. . . . After a thorough inspection, it was disclosed, for example, that over 100 new members and candidates who came to work in a Warsaw factory had not registered in the Party's organization and therefore did not participate in Party activity.

"Apart from underestimating the importance of registration . . . an important cause of the deficiencies in the personal files is the excessive mobility of Party members. They go from one place of work to another which makes it difficult to keep track of them in view of the insufficient discipline of Party members concerning matters of registration. . . . There is probably no establishment in Poland where the mobility of cadres would not constitute a serious worry for the management. Until now, our Party organizations have not paid enough attention to this."

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Soviet Union's Pioneer organization called Vladimir Lenin, a solemn meeting was held in the Council of State Hall in Warsaw under the sponsorship of the Union of Polish Youth in the name of the Boy Scouts. At the rally, a letter was drafted praising Russian youth as models for children all over the world. In an ecstatic tone, the letter, made public in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), May 26, asserted the desire of Polish youth to emulate their Soviet counterparts:

" . . . At our gatherings we often talk about your activities. Pavlik Morozov, Volodya Dubinin, Zoya and Oleg are the favorite heroes of our teams. . . .

"We know how you Pioneers are helping teachers in your school, how you are working for the prosperity of your Great and Wonderful Fatherland. . . . Your example is helping us to learn in a better way, to carry on our meetings in a more interesting manner, and to assist our parents. . . . We are not only following your example in work, we are joyfully singing Pioneer songs and rejoicing as you are. . . . With songs, dances and Scout deeds, we will welcome the Rally of young leaders, the builders of People's Poland on July 22. . . . With all our hearts we wish for even better results in learning and work in the great Soviet Country and in our common fight for peace. . . . Long live the best Friend and Protector of children all over the world—Comrade Joseph Stalin."

It is significant to note that the "hero" Pavlik Morozov, mentioned in the letter, denounced his parents to Party authorities, telling them where they were hiding grain which they did not want to sell to the State. The parents were arrested and Pavlik was killed by his own grandfather. The Soviet authorities erected a monument for the boy in Moscow, depicting him as an example for all children of the Communist system.

"They Poison the Souls of Children"

More propaganda of a similar kind appeared on June 1, when Polish Minister of Education Witold Jarosinski, speaking on Radio Warsaw in honor of International Children's Day, contrasted the great Soviet method of educating children with the American imperialists' corruption of youth:

"Nowhere in the world does a child enjoy such splendid protection as in the Soviet Union. Nowhere in the world is the life of a child so rich, happy and creative as in the country where Socialism has been established. . . . But not everywhere in the world is the protection of children secured. Recently an International Conference for the Protection of Children was held in Vienna for the purpose of solving the question of how to prevent the threat of a new war and to avert the horrible injury to children in countries ruled by capitalists. . . ."

According to the Minister, the Americans are guilty of the following crimes:

"The American imperialists poison the souls of the children of the United States with criminal lectures and [gangster] movies. . . . They put the children of Greece and Spain into prisons and concentration camps. They lead women workers in Japan and Syria to sell their own children. They make the children of India, Egypt and Iran work beyond their strength. It is their fault that the majority of children in Africa, Latin America and in some Asiatic countries die from hunger at the ages of two or three because they have no homes. . . .

"Let International Children's Day arouse in your hearts an even warmer love for your People's Fatherland, a more spontaneous hatred against the American imperialists. . . ."

The Rise and Fall of Ana Pauker

As recently as March 26, Ana Pauker was in the good graces of the Kremlin. Moscow Radio was quoting from a laudatory article published in the Soviet paper, *Krest-yanka* (The Peasant Woman):

"Everything for which Ana fought since the days of her youth, everything she cherished in her thoughts when lingering behind prison walls, has come to pass. Romania has broken the bonds of capitalism.

"Ana Pauker often speaks at large meetings and at various sessions. Whenever she does so the subject of her country's friendship with the Soviet Union permeates her speeches: 'In our country today every worker, every honest person, understands that we cannot exist, that we cannot live without the precious friendship of the Soviet Union. This friendship is eternal. Whoever loves the future and peace loves the Soviet Union and joins those who unite with it.' Thus speaks Ana Pauker—the fighter for the happiness of mankind."

Exactly two months later, on May 26 and 27, the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers (Communist) Party held a special meeting in order to censure and demote Ana Pauker. Official reports charged her with both rightist and leftist deviations from the Party line. Ana Pauker's devotion to the Soviet Union and her personal friendship with Stalin did not make her purge-proof.

Ideological Beginnings

Because of the importance of the Ana Pauker demotion (See Political Section above), the following information on her life has been compiled by an exiled diplomat and one-time personal acquaintance of the Pauker family.

Ana Pauker was born in 1893, one of the three or four children (it is not exactly known how many), of Zwi Rabinsohn, an orthodox Jewish butcher. At the time, the Rabinsohns were living in or near Bacau, a city of 25,000 inhabitants in central Moldavia, Romania. They were immigrants from Russia or Poland, and by 1907 they had continued their intermittent migration farther south to Bucharest. It is likely that butchering was only a part-time occupation for the elder Rabinsohn, who probably supplemented his business by performing ritual butchering in his spare time. Her parents, with their daughter Ana's help, emigrated to Israel in 1946, where they both died.

Obviously a very intelligent girl, Ana quickly took to learning. She is known to have taught in a Jewish school in Bucharest when she was seventeen. Subsequently, she became a medical student, probably a compromise between her pronounced interest in the social field and the ministering traditions of her family.

Ana Rabinsohn had her first love-affair with a Socialist lawyer by the name of Steinberg, who introduced her to Marxism. In Zurich, where she was pursuing her medical studies, she mixed with a group of young intellectuals with leftist leanings, the foremost of whom was Tristan Tzara, a Romanian Jew writing French poetry, and founder of a literary trend known in the twenties as Dadaism. In this group, Ana Rabinsohn met Marcel Pauker, a fellow countryman who, while belonging to a wealthy and influential Jewish family, was a confirmed Communist. Upon returning to Romania, in 1920, they were married, in the face of bitter opposition from the Pauker family.

An Active Communist in the Twenties

The official history of the Communist Party would have Ana Pauker a central figure in most of the subversive activities of that period. In the early twenties she already was a leading personality of the Communist Party. In Romania, after the failure of the short-lived Labor Party, Lenin's followers remained for some time in the fold of the Socialist Party. Nevertheless, they were active in organizing a riot in Bucharest, on December 13, 1918, and in 1920 a general strike—which was a complete failure. The same year, they planted a time bomb in the building of the Senate, killing, among others, the Speaker of the Upper House and a high-ranking prelate of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Communists formally seceded from the Socialist Party on May 8, 1921, and joined the Third International. Their next exploit, in 1922, was a Soviet-sponsored insurrection in a Bessarabian village. As a result of all these activities, the various Romanian Governments were compelled to resort to strong measures for the protection of the State, thus vitiating the democratic process in Romania, which was exactly what the Communists wanted.

Active in the fight against the Socialists for the control of the labor unions, Ana Pauker achieved enough prominence to be arrested several times along with other leaders, until the Communist Party was outlawed in April 1924. For the next dozen years or so she led the life of many post-war members of the then illegal underground Communist movements: travel abroad, faked passports, masquerading as bona-fide specialists, and persecution in their own country.

In the meantime, Ana Pauker is said to have subscribed to the free love doctrine then professed by the Communists. She is supposed to have had an affair with an Hungarian worker in Transylvania, one Alexander Koblos, and another one with Maurice Thorez, the French Communist leader, alleged father of one of Ana Pauker's three children.

Underground in the Thirties

Ana Pauker had a hand in the engineering of a politically motivated strike at the Grivita railroad repair shops in Bucharest, in February, 1933; a strike which, under Communist guidance degenerated into bloodshed. One of the apparent leaders of the rioters was Gheorghe Gheorghiu, who was arrested and sentenced to 12 years in prison. He eventually attached Dej to his name, the name of a city where he served part of his sentence. As for Ana Pauker, she managed to avoid being caught. She continued her underground activities and in 1935 became a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. During this period, Moscow's orders called for the organization of strikes and of various legal or illegal fronts under the anti-Fascist tag, such as the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, which ran a ticket in the general elections, obtaining about one percent of the votes, the National Anti-Fascist Committee, the Committee of Anti-Fascist Women, the League against Prejudices, the Organization for Mother and Child. Various publications were sponsored at that time, such as *The New Century*, *The New Era*, *The Reporter*, *The Echo*, but they were suppressed by the Government.

At last, Ana Pauker was arrested in July, 1935, when leaving a Party meeting. Other leaders arrested on that occasion were Alexandru Moghioros, Alexandru Draghici and Liuba Chisinevski (together with Gheorghiu-Dej, they belong to the faction which won over Ana Pauker in the latest purge). Ana Pauker was the leading figure in the trial of 19 Communist leaders which started in July, 1936, under the Tatarescu Government. The Communists decided to make a big show of it and Ana Pauker tried to emulate Dimitrov in his defiance at the Leipzig trial. Leftist personalities and organizations all over Europe made much of the trial, sending lawyers to Romania to defend the accused Communists. The large circulation dailies *Adeverul* and *Dimineata*, part-owned by another member of the Pauker family, firmly supported Ana, in line with their general opposition to the methods of the Liberal Party Government.

Even several prominent Romanian democrats, such as Iuliu Maniu, Chairman of the National Peasant Party, protested against some of the features of the trial which appeared to them to be impairing fundamental civil liberties. In fact, the trial was conducted by a military court because, as a result of the Grivita riots, all subversive activities were subject to martial law.

Career in Moscow Instead of Prison

Ana Pauker was sentenced to 10 years of prison. So far, she had never before served any of her previous sentences in full, being pardoned as a woman convict, or as a result of amnesties granted for political offenses. This time she began serving her sentence at the Dumbraveni prison for women convicts, where she kept busy organizing Communist cells.



Wide World Photos

In 1933, Marcel Pauker had already been summoned to Moscow, together with other Communist leaders, ostensibly for indoctrination courses. Unfortunately for him, Marcel had backed the wrong horse, Trotsky, and was liquidated in the great purge of the late thirties. The death of her husband, however, did not in the least affect Ana Pauker's absolute devotion to Stalin. After the Soviet seizure of the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia in 1940, the Kremlin suggested exchanging an old Romanian peasant leader, Ion Codreanu (no relation to the Iron Guard leader), arrested by the Soviets in their advance through the conquered territory, for Ana Pauker and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Although it was a strange procedure to ask a Romanian Government to release one of its convicted citizens to a foreign country, the exchange was eventually carried out in the spring of 1941 by the dictator Ion Antonescu, who insisted on parity and sent to Moscow only Ana Pauker, while Gheorghiu-Dej finished up his high school education in prison.

In Moscow, Ana Pauker, now a Soviet citizen, made quite a career, becoming a member of the Comintern. By 1943 she was touring the POW's camps, in the uniform

of a Soviet Army Colonel, together with Vasile Luca and Dumitru Petrescu and haranguing Romanian prisoners in order to convert them to the Communist cause. Using pressure brought to bear by the Soviet management of the camps, which was untroubled by humanitarian or legalistic considerations, Pauker and her colleagues managed to form two divisions from the POW camps, called "Tudor Vladimirescu" and "Horia, Closca si Crisan" after Romanian revolutionary leaders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The highest ranking Romanian officer induced to join them was a Major Cambrea, promoted to general, and given command of the First Division. Known by its initials TV, this division was quickly nicknamed "Tradatori Vanduti" (Sold-out Traitors). The other division was entrusted to William Suder, a petty officer of German extraction who is now a major general and assistant Minister of the Armed Forces.

These two divisions were not intended for the fighting line (except on the occasion when the Soviet General Staff's planning went amiss and the unit found itself faced by a German drive which tore it to shreds), but as a nucleus for the present Communist controlled Romanian army and as a security force on which the Russians might rely. Ana Pauker knew perfectly well that she could no more rely on these troops than on the other Romanians and that most of them had accepted Soviet sponsorship only in order to get home. Consequently, the officers of these divisions were quietly liquidated, purged or replaced, and only a few survive to fill positions of importance today. Nevertheless, for the time being they had served Ana Pauker's purpose.

Becoming Number One Communist

Ana Pauker returned to Romania in her Soviet uniform in September, 1944, together with Vasile Luca and other Moscow-trained leaders. This was not yet her hour of triumph, for Moscow's instructions required her to keep out of the limelight. She held no government authority and accepted only such minor positions as Chairman of the Union of Democratic Women. In this capacity she went on a tour to France and Switzerland for some Communist front show. In February, 1945, she got orders from the Kremlin to pave the way for a Communist *coup d'etat*. Together with Gheorghe Apostol (recently promoted Secretary of the Party), she staged street demonstrations against the coalition Government presided over by General Nicolae Radescu. The Prime Minister outwitted her by calling a mass meeting where he castigated her and the other Communist leaders, thereby boosting Romanian resistance to Soviet pressure.

Moscow promptly dispatched Andrei Vishinsky to Bucharest, where he delivered an ultimatum to the King, backed by Soviet armored cars rumbling about the Royal Palace. Vishinsky asked for the dismissal of the Radescu Government and for the appointment of a Cabinet presided over by Petru Groza, a fellow-traveller dominated by the Communists. Ana Pauker was not on Vishinsky's list, but everybody knew by then that she was Communist No. 1

in Romania. Presently, she started paying her debts of gratitude.

Settling Accounts and Making New Favorites

First, she settled her account with Marshal Ion Antonescu who had freed her from jail. In June, 1946, the wartime dictator was sentenced to death as a war criminal. Since the Soviets had asked for his head, Antonescu's life would probably not have been spared anyway, but his former generosity to Ana Pauker resulted in one of the most bungled executions of modern times. She ordered Teohari Georgescu, Minister of the Interior, to send a firing squad composed of her own private police. In military uniforms and simulating a regular firing squad, they had to shoot three salvoes before the victims were sufficiently wounded to drop to the ground and be finished off.

Ana Pauker's next victim was Iuliu Maniu, the great patriot who had a decisive role in bringing Romania back into the Allied camp. His party, the largest in Romania, was destroyed. After a bitter fight which lasted two years, the old leader was put on trial in October, 1947, and Colonel Alexandru Petrescu and one of the few authentic war criminals in Romania, presided over a kangaroo court which gave Maniu a life sentence of hard labor. The ailing octogenarian is still in jail.

Communist Logic

By contrast, Gheorghe Tatarescu, who had been Prime Minister during Ana Pauker's trial in 1936 and subsequently in 1938-40, had greatly helped King Carol to set up his dictatorship, was now supported by Ana Pauker. In March, 1945, he was made Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Soviet-sponsored Cabinet of Petru Groza and, together with other opportunists, provided a "bourgeois" facade for the Communist government that gradually transformed Romania into a Soviet colony.

Moreover, Ana Pauker sponsored the admission of Iron Guards within Communist ranks. One former member of this Nazi-type anti-Semitic organization, Burducea, held a Cabinet post in Groza's Government. In August, 1945, Ana Pauker publicly gave the Iron Guards a clean bill of health by stating: "Many of us have been ready to recognize that, through a considered policy, we have been able to reconstruct a great number of former Iron Guards who joined us in our productive and democratic work."

One of the reconstructed anti-Semites, Ion Victor Vojen, former Iron Guard envoy to Mussolini's Government, was now Ana Pauker's own minion.

The Maniu trial was not yet over when Ana Pauker directed Tatarescu's purge. He, who had joined in the vilification of the respected Romanian patriot, was now accused of being an accomplice of the victim, since some Romanian diplomats, whom Tatarescu had purged while in charge of the Foreign Office, were being given various sentences in Maniu's trial. According to this perfect example of Communist logic, Tatarescu was fined and put

under house arrest. He was never honored with a public trial.

Appointed Foreign Minister

In 1947, on the November 7th anniversary of the Red Revolution, Ana Pauker was appointed Foreign Minister, over the ineffectual opposition of King Michael, who was dethroned only seven weeks later. The purge she carried out in her department, not only among representatives abroad, but down to the last typist and telephone operator of the home office, remains an example of her thorough and utter ruthlessness. The department ceased to operate officially for a week, while all desks, cabinets and files were searched and carried away by the secret police; in reality, it did not function normally for more than two years, due to the complete lack of personnel abroad and the incompetence of the few delegated replacements. Pauker's sole objective was to purge the Ministry of everyone not devoted to her or sufficiently conscious of her power.

Ana Pauker kept behind the scenes in December, 1947, when King Michael was forced at gun point to sign a prepared text of abdication. Conscious of the popularity of the young monarch, the Soviets entrusted this task to two members of the Government who could pose as true Romanians: Gheorghiu-Dej and Groza. But Pauker was the one who speeded up the Sovietization of Romania from then on. The first step, after the proclamation of the People's Republic, was the absorption in February, 1948, of the so-called leftist—and in fact opportunist—wing of the Socialist Party by the Communists. At that time also, the only other Romanian Communist of remarkable intellect, Lucretiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice, was purged. He was a man who could have aspired to the role of Tito, if that was at all possible in Romania. He was arrested before the outbreak of the Tito affair, and nothing has been heard of him since. In June, 1948, Ana Pauker was among the signers of the Cominform condemnation of Tito.

Nevertheless, in August, 1948, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ana Pauker went to Belgrade, to the Conference called to write a new treaty for the international navigation on the Danube river. She did her best to outdo Vishinsky in truculence and lost no opportunity to insult the American, British and French representatives to the Conference who finally refused to sign the Soviet draft of the treaty.

By then, Romania had completely lost any shred of independence in matters of foreign policy. Ana Pauker's role, as head of the Foreign Office, consisted mainly of receiving ambassadors of other Communist puppet governments, sending telegrams of congratulations to other Communist quislings on various occasions, and drafting insulting diplomatic notes addressed to the Western Powers. She reached new heights of cynicism and arrogance when she blatantly refused, on behalf of the Romanian Government, to accept a United Nations inquiry into violations of Human Rights in Romania.

More and more Ana Pauker concentrated on her duties as a leading member of the Politburo, with the rank of

Secretary of the Party (one of seven). She was always known to advocate the strongest line, pressing for ruthless liquidation of any resistance, for a stiff fight against the farmers, for increased deliveries to Soviet Russia. She is reported to have boasted of having a direct telephone line with Stalin.

"On the Slope of Aristocracy"

At the zenith of her power, Ana Pauker indulged in every satisfaction that power could give: luxury, lust, revenge. She had a magnificent residence in the once fashionable district of Bucharest, on Kisseleff Avenue, in a mansion confiscated from a Prince Callimachi, as well as two other houses in Bucharest. She had a villa in the elegant suburb of Snagov, on a romantic lake, another one at Mamaia, on the Black Sea shore, and two cottages at the mountain resorts of Busteni and Predeal, all of them confiscated from former bourgeoisie. For security reasons she constantly moved from one place to another, having at her disposal four cars: one of Soviet make, for public appearances, and three American ones, for greater comfort and better performance.

Although she is careful to dress simply at all public appearances, in accord with the Party's "proletarian look," Ana Pauker is fond of smart and expensive clothes. She used to order exclusive gowns from top fashion designers in Paris, but lately she has had to content herself with the products of one of the best of the local designers. Following Communist interpretation of "equality," Ana Pauker is not subject to food rationing, the lot of the common man in Romania. Her servants buy food, including such items as venison, caviar and champagne, at reduced prices from the shops set up for the exclusive use of Soviet Officers, "advisers," and local Communist bigwigs. Official censure of Ana Pauker alludes to all this as the sin of "slipping on the slope of aristocracy." There is, however, no explanation for the fact that it took the Communists seven years to make this discovery.

Despite the fact that she sacrificed her husband, Ana Pauker has managed to push the career of her son Vlad and also that of her son-in-law Bratescu. A cousin, Titi Pauker, was head of Personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ana Pauker's personal clique has also included young bachelors who aspire to brilliant futures in the Party.

Titoism and Anti-Semitism

Is Ana Pauker's purge to be interpreted as part of a "housecleaning," of a Communist drive against corruption? This can hardly be the case since the system is, in fact, based on great privilege bestowed on the new upper classes.

Informed sources among exiled diplomats and scholars interpret Ana Pauker's demotion in various ways. Admirers of Marshall Tito would be inclined to explain the Romanian purge as a drive against actual or potential Titos. This would not seem to apply to Ana Pauker. Far from entertaining national feelings as a Romanian, she is an orthodox Marxist, and her whole life has been one of blind devotion to Stalin. Moreover, no Communist leader

is in a position to follow Tito's example, even if he wanted to, and this applies to Ana Pauker's successors. Neither Pauker, nor any other Communist leader behind the Iron Curtain, with the exception of Tito and the possible exception of Mao, has ever been permitted to retain enough control over the Army and police forces of their respective countries to be purge-proof. For this reason, Titoism has failed to become a reality in other captive countries in the four years since Tito's rift with the Kremlin.

Another theory advanced in connection with the Pauker purge is based on the precedent of Slansky's treatment in Czechoslovakia. Here too a thoroughly "Muscovite" Communist who blindly followed the Party line seems to have been purged for no apparent reason other than that he was a Jew. Indeed, his dismissal was the signal for an anti-Semitic campaign conducted under the guise of a drive against "cosmopolitanism." Undoubtedly there are similarities between the Slansky and Pauker cases, but there are important differences resulting from the basically dissimilar structure of the respective countries and Communist Parties.

The degree of Jewish assimilation varies considerably from one country to another in Eastern Europe. In Romania most of the Jews availed themselves of the choice given them by the 1930 census and registered as a separate national group numbering 728,115 (or 4.0 percent of the population) out of 756,930 Romanians of Jewish persuasion. Jews suffered hardships in Romania under Romanian or foreign rule. For one thing the problem of assimilating Jewish immigrants was not easily solved (their number increased from a few thousand in 1800 to three quarters of a million in 1930) particularly with so many wars and changes of sovereignty taking place in that agitated part of Europe. Outbursts of violence occurred against Jews in the 1907 revolt and again during the short-lived Iron Guard government, but there were no systematic pogroms of the Russian type. Some Jews did achieve positions of prominence in the economic, cultural or social life of the nation. A number were elected to Parliament; but in many instances, they were regarded as aliens, and rarely held key positions in the Government or in the Armed Forces.

During World War II, discriminatory measures were taken against Jews and excesses committed under the Nazi-German initiative. Deportations were carried out in Bessarabia as reprisals against partisan attacks in Jewish communities in that province. The Royal-Court, the Churches, leaders of the then illegal democratic parties, such as Iuliu Maniu and Dinu Bratianu, and even dictator Antonescu resisted pressure by Hitler on Romania to exterminate the Romanian Jews. Many foreign Jews found a haven in Romania and native Jews in Romania were the only Jews in Eastern Europe who had survived in a large group (running into half a million in the smaller post-war territory) at the end of the war.

Despite the fact that a considerable number of Romanian Jews were given key positions in the government by the Communists in the post-war period, the Jewish

population was and still is worse off than before. Being essentially a bourgeois element and, in fact, the preeminent representatives of capitalism in the Romanian economic life, they were hard hit by Communist policies. Jewish cultural and religious life was subject to the same regimentation as other sections of the population. As the only Romanian citizens allowed to leave the country, they registered up to 90 percent to emigrate to Israel. The Communists exploited this emigration for their own ends. For one thing, they stripped the emigrants of all their valuables; in addition to this legalized loot, they exacted a ransom from International Jewish Agencies sponsoring immigration to Israel amounting to 200 US dollars per head. By allowing only a limited number of Jews to leave the country, between 1,000 and 5,000 a month, they also retained a means of pressure on the state of Israel, an influence not at all negligible in the present international situation. Zionist leaders and frequently even Israeli officials have been jailed.

Ana Pauker and the Jews

Ana Pauker's role in these matters was, of course, prominent. She showed no more consideration for the Jewish population than she did for non-Jews. She did allow her aged parents, and a brother, Jacob, to emigrate to Israel. In 1948, Jacob Rabinsohn, now a teacher at the Mikve Israel Agricultural School, returned to Romania, apparently to intercede with his sister for the removal of hindrances to Jewish emigration. Whatever the case, nothing came of it, and he has not been permitted to return to Israel since then, even for his father's funeral. On that occasion he sent a telegram (which sister Ana did not bother to do) and nothing has been heard from him since.

Ana Pauker's demotion has not altered the picture much in this respect. Jewish emigration has been reduced to a trickle. It has now been stopped for "technical" reasons: the official line is that the two ships assigned to this operation are undergoing repairs and the Romanian authorities refuse to grant permission to any other ships to do the job. This is probably an extension of the Kremlin's policy toward Israel.

The status of Jews in Romania has not changed much. No explicit doctrine of anti-Semitism has been formulated. True, the number of Jews in the composition of the Secretariat of the Communist Party has been reduced from three to one, but in the Central Committee as a whole, it has been increased from five to seven.

Nationalism and Minorities

Another possible explanation for the Pauker purge is based on nationalism. As a rule, in all the captive countries, the Soviets have been faced with the resolute hostility of the majority of the population, strongest in those countries adjoining the Soviet Union, since it was based on a century-old experience of Russian imperialism. In the inter-war period, consequently, the Kremlin had never seriously attempted to develop these Communist Parties into mass organizations like their French and Italian counter-

parts. Instead, they concentrated on creating a nucleus of professional revolutionaries who were ready to take over their respective countries with the help of the Red Army. Since the majority was hostile, the Kremlin logically recruited its Communist cadres largely from the disgruntled elements in minority groups. This was particularly true in Romania, which out of a population of 20 million in 1944 (including Bessarabia and Bukovina), had less than a thousand Communist Party members in that same year, by an admission made by Ana Pauker in 1947. The majority of these Party members belong to ethnic or religious minorities.

In the first phase of Communist rule of Romania, from 1945 to date, the ruling group was composed predominantly of such elements. The only Communist leader of real capacity and of Romanian stock, Lucretiu Patrascanu, was liquidated in 1948 (before the Tito affair). As a result, the Secretariat of the Party, its governing body, included only one Romanian, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. In the Politburo, there were five Romanians and nine non-Romanians. All Party and Government agencies were staffed accordingly, from the Romanian Academy to the dreaded Secret Police. Considering Leninist-Stalinist politics, it is likely that the Kremlin wanted to use the minority groups against the majority in the first phase of Sovietization of the captive countries. In the time that followed, a new set of young cadres could be recruited and trained among natives of indisputably "national" extraction. A dramatic shift could then be decreed and the drive against "chauvinism" substituted by a drive against "cosmopolitanism." The old set of leaders could be jettisoned and branded as "aliens." This is, of course, the age-old device of any totalitarian regime, namely, diverting internal unrest from the government against minority groups.

So far, this process has been almost completed in Czechoslovakia. In Romania, despite Ana Pauker's fall from favor, the operation has not yet been achieved, and it is possible that it will follow a different course. A plausible appraisal of the situation can be made only against the background of the national structure of Romania. The pre-war 1930 census showed a proportion of 75 percent of Romanians and 25 percent belong to groups of various foreign extractions. This is not significantly different from most of the neighboring countries. Unlike what happens in the American "melting pot," these minority groups were never assimilated, and many not only continued to speak their native languages, but retained their national customs and characteristics.

Native Sons

The promotion of Gheorghiu-Dej and two other Romanians of the "native son" variety, Miron Constantinescu and Gheorghe Apostol, in the Party hierarchy would seem

to indicate a new "majority" emphasis. Nevertheless, in the Central Committee as a whole, the Romanians remain a minority, 8 to 11, whereas they were 19 to 15 in the old alignment. If there is any satisfaction granted to Romanian national feelings, it is rather by way of implication. Ana Pauker, Teohari Georgescu, Vasile Luca and Vasile Vaida were considered aliens and bitter enemies of Romania. Apparently the Communists have not yet been able to train a sufficient number of reliable leaders of purely Romanian stock. Also, it is likely that Romania presents the Kremlin with a special problem. Among the non-Slav neighbors of Russia in Europe, Romania is not only the largest, but, unlike Finland and the Baltic States, she is in a vital and strategic position. Essentially, Romania is a barrier nation in the way of Russian expansion toward Central Europe and the Straits. Kremlin leaders probably believe there is no harm in encouraging nationalism in Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria, hoping to harness it to Pan-Slavism, but they would hesitate to do this with Romania. In fact, they have favored expulsion of national minorities from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, but not in Romania. There they seem to be interested in preserving a composite national structure and in continuing to rely on the use of minorities against the majority as a matter of continued policy.

It would seem then that none of the theories about Ana Pauker's demotion—Titoist, anti-Semitic, or nationalist—is a sufficient explanation. From all indications preceding and following the purge, it would seem that the Kremlin wishes to remove the most unpopular protagonists from the Romanian stage and at the same time wishes to dramatize a policy change by coupling it with a change of personnel. The Kremlin seems to be increasing both economic exploitation and police terror in Romania, and it is a well-known fact that Ana Pauker, Teohari Georgescu and Vasile Luca were the advocates of precisely such a policy. Gheorghiu-Dej was supposed to be more lenient. Now, the former three are purged, accused of leniency, and Gheorghiu-Dej is promoted with the task of being more ruthless. The only possible explanation of this apparent paradox is that Moscow will apply Ana Pauker's policy in Romania without Ana Pauker. Because she has so much hatred focussed on her, she is discarded and a new team steps in to take her place.

The continued punishment of leaders who have helped the Kremlin consolidate its power must reveal a fundamental flaw in Stalinist tactics, as well as a promise of things to come. It is difficult to secure political stability when a regime, to perpetuate itself, continues to eliminate the leadership which helped it to power. Furthermore, it is the kind of political example which might all too easily come back to plague its originators with the terror they themselves have instituted.

The Cost of Living

I. SATELLITE AGRICULTURE

Traditionally skeptical of innovation and regimentation, the farmers of Eastern Europe present a major obstacle to the total absorption of their countries into the Soviet economic orbit. However, such absorption is absolutely essential to the complete and effective control of a nation's economy; therefore, the persistence of the Soviet Union in advancing its program of agrarian collectivization.

Obligatory delivery quotas, higher taxation, special privileges for collective farmers, political attacks, and even imprisonment are some of the weapons used to induce private landholders to join Collectives. But the collectivization is very slow—a necessity imposed upon the Communist governments both because of the nature of the peoples involved and because of the bitter lessons learned (as a result of hasty legislation) in the Soviet Union itself.

It is reported via Vienna that the Legal Preparatory Committee of Hungary's Ministry of Agriculture has drafted a decree calling for Farmer's Cooperative farms (kolkhoz) to be transformed into State farms (sovkhoz). The plans for this transformation were drawn up by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and confirmed by a resolution passed by the Council of Ministers:

"The preamble of the decree emphasizes that 'progressive' members of farmers' cooperatives have repeatedly asked the government to transform their cooperatives into State farms. Until now, the government has taken no action in this matter because it was convinced that the broad masses of the peasantry first had to go through a certain evolution.

"Transformation from kolkhoz to sovkhoz will be either 'free and voluntary' or in some instances, 'where circumstances render it necessary,' it will be effected by the State. Transformation will be 'free and voluntary' in cases where 60 percent of the members, as well as the management, ask for the transformation, or in case of bankruptcy if the request for transformation is made by 60 percent of the members prior to State investigation. In cases where 'an investigation committee finds that the cooperative concerned is unable to fulfill its obligations

on account of negligent and inefficient handling of its affairs,' or if State interests so require, the transformation will be effected by the State.

"The decree also makes provisions for the punishment of violators of the decree, such as those who hinder state officials in their endeavor to carry out the transformation."

A former Latvian government employee gives the following report on land collectivization in his country:

"Prior to the Bolshevik occupation, there were 275,000 farms in Latvia. The majority of them did not exceed 10 to 30 hectares and were worked by their owners and their families. . . . On March 11, 1952, when the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union met in Moscow, the Deputy Prime Minister of Latvia, Ostrov, reported that over 98 percent of individual farms in Latvia had been incorporated into kolkhozes.

"First 3,000 kolkhozes were established. Later these were formed into larger units and at present there are 1,513 kolkhozes in Latvia. For political and administrative surveillance these have been divided into 59 districts. There are 103 tractor pools to supply the motorized equipment for these kolkhozes. One such pool is unable to provide services to 15 kolkhozes; therefore, most of them are using horses.

"During the independence of Latvia there were 516 rural districts. This means that at present each rural district has been divided into three kolkhozes with approximately 180 farms to each. There were no farmers' villages in independent Latvia, all farmers lived on individual premises. Thus collectivization was very difficult as there were no collective billets available. A plan was prepared by the kolkhoz supervisory board to move 275,000 farmhouses to kolkhoz sites but this requires considerable financial means as well as labor. Recently the building of several new kolkhozes has been accomplished, but the majority of kolkhoz peasants still live in farmhouses which are located on their former farms. This makes political education and economic planning very difficult. . . . Forests and non-arable land separate these farm buildings and form a natural obstacle to collectivization. . . .

"Paragraph 7 of the Soviet Latvian Constitution provides that each family living in the kolkhoz be given garden space, not to exceed .6 hectares including living quarters. Gardens are to be cultivated during off hours

and if a member of the kolkhoz devotes too much time to the cultivation of his garden, he is deprived of garden space and in severe cases expelled from kolkhoz society. . . ."

"I Am Not So Convinced"

Radio Warsaw, March 27, in a broadcast beamed to the Polish countryside (wave length 49) commented:

"Citizen 'Z' from the Warsaw Province writes: 'Wave 49, tell me why there is so much talk about Cooperative farms [kolkhozes]. I am pleased with the land reform because the nation has waited a long time for it; but as for these Cooperatives, I am not so convinced. I do not know if it will be good or bad. Some are saying that it will be bad. . . .'"

In answer to Citizen "Z", they read several letters from peasants, organized in kolkhozes, asserting that kolkhozes are better than individual farms, "because one hectare yields 23 to 24 quintals [5070 to 5291 lbs.] of wheat and a cow can produce as much as 6,580 liters [about 6,953 US liquid quarts] of milk per year."

And on April 1, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), editorialized on the effectiveness of State farms (PGR):

"The PGR are playing an ever larger role in supplying the urban population and industrial centers with foodstuffs and industry with indispensable raw materials. The State farms already cover 12 percent of the total area of arable land. . . . However, considering the quantity of equipment allotted yearly by the administration to the PGR, their total economic achievements are still poor. Lack of responsibility and good management, insufficient work discipline, low efficiency, negligence and wastefulness are the causes of such feeble results."

Negative—in Theory . . .

Bulgaria's *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), April 2, published an article by G. Minchev, Dean of the Faculty of Agronomy, entitled "Concerning Some Incorrect Theories on the Economic Problems of Labor Cooperative Farms":

"In the yearbook of the Faculty of Agronomy, School of Agriculture (volume 28, 1949-50, edited in 1952), two articles by the Assistant Professor Mladen Dimitrov are included, respectively titled, 'About Rent in Cooperative Farms' and 'The Intensification of Cooperative Farms.' The yearbook also includes an article by Professor P. Kiranov on 'The Land Problem in Labor Cooperative Farms.'

"According to Dimitrov, the income of the Cooperative farms should be distributed in a better way, in order to enable the members of the Cooperative farms, and especially the middle group, to get an income 'at least' equal to the one which the corresponding private farmers get. He remarks that the Party has built Cooperative farms in which the average peasant's poverty increases, that they are not on the way to Socialism, that they do not improve the living standards of middle group peasants, who have no reason to become members of the Cooperative farms. . . .

"In his study on the rent, and in his conclusion (p.

254) Dimitrov declares: 'Since the rent is not a labor remuneration, it clearly has the character of exploitation. . . .' In short, Dimitrov concludes that in the Cooperative farms all peasants are exploited, and that it is to no one's interest to become a Cooperative farm member.

"In his second article, Dimitrov insists that the Cooperative farms are extensive farms in which the average peasant cannot invest his labor as well as in a private farm. This is a heinous and dangerous calumny.

"One can find similar theories in Professor Kiranov's article. According to him, the Cooperative farms are beneficial neither to the poor nor to the middle class peasants. There is no doubt that the class enemy, fighting the Cooperative farms, will gladly accept and use such a 'science.' " *

. . . and Practice

A refugee Bulgarian, who participated in propaganda campaigns for the collectivization of agriculture, reports:

"The government's intensive drive for collectivization aims at gradually killing the property instinct of the vast peasant stock. . . . The peasant is absorbed into the Cooperative farm along with all his property and livestock. For each decare [1,000 square meters] he has to deposit an initial 1,500 to 3,000 *leva*, depending on the fertility of the land and other factors. . . .

"Farm members are paid in 'work day' units. The peasants, however, complain that the pay for a day's work does not exceed 200 *leva*. They are discouraged and work without enthusiasm, with the result that production is constantly decreasing. . . . The government exerts great pressure upon peasants not willing to join the Cooperative farms. An independent farmer is forbidden by law to rent more land. He is burdened with impossible delivery quotas. Failure to fulfill delivery quotas often sends independent farmers to prison, and land which an independent farmer fails to cultivate on time is confiscated."

"Cheerleaders of Agitators"

The Soviet Estonian government has inaugurated a vigorous campaign among kolkhoz members to improve production. *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), April 26, proclaimed:

"The best and most qualified agitators ['Cheerleaders of Agitators'] should be sent to the kolkhozes to give lectures, distribute leaflets, read newspapers, yes, even entertain the farmers, so that their performance will be up to the required Socialist standards. Agitation should also include the showing of diagrams, posters and educational material to impress the farmers with the importance of their work. Other diagrams are to show the most successful kolkhozes and advertise the names of the best individual workers. To do this job properly, the local 'culture and people's houses' must be mobilized to send agitation and entertainment brigades directly to the fields."

* According to recent information, Professor P. Kiranov has been removed from his administrative post of General Director of Statistics, as well as from his position as Professor of Rural Economy at the Faculty of Agriculture.

Inadequate production in a different branch of the national economy was evidenced by an article in *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), April 22, entitled "Preparations for the Spring Catch in the Parnu Region," by A. Tiidre:

"One of the greatest obstacles is the lack of rope and anchors in a great number of fishing kolkhozes. . . . Fish receiving stations are poorly prepared for the spring season because of the indifference of officials concerned. Also, the stations are not provided adequately with packing materials. Instead of the 11,000 barrels which were foreseen, only 150 arrived.

"An indication of the irresponsibility among the leaders of the Fish Combine of Parnu is the fact that contracts with the fishing kolkhozes, which should have been made before March 15, according to the directives, were not made in time."

Problems and Penalties

Andras Hegedus, an Hungarian expert on agricultural policy, wrote an article entitled, "The Problems of the Socialist Reorganization of Our Agriculture," in the May issue of *Társdalmi Szemle*, the official scientific magazine of the Party published in Budapest. Hegedus emphasized the significance of State farms in the further development of agriculture:

"State farms are of extreme significance. Their further development must be intensified in order that they may lead the Producers' Cooperative farms in mechanization and in the adoption of new methods. . . . [They] should far surpass both the independent farmers and the Cooperative farms in crop production and cattle breeding. As Comrade Rakosi said at the recent national convention of district party secretaries—'the State farms must be the engines which drive our entire Socialist agriculture.' We must make every effort not only to develop further our State farms by adopting Soviet techniques, but also to increase their number rapidly."

These efforts, however, are curbed by the acute shortage of manpower. *Szabad Fold*, the Party's agricultural weekly published in Budapest, commented in its May 11 issue as follows:

"The most important task of our State farms is to secure sufficient manpower. This refers particularly to farms growing cotton, rice and garden vegetables. Where can we find the necessary manpower?—in sections of life where there is no shortage, in fact where there is a surplus. Able-bodied and still unemployed dependents of permanent workers must be engaged in labor. Peasants owning small and medium-sized farms in the neighboring villages constitute a significant manpower reserve. These peasants must be among the first made to participate in the production of State farms."

On May 4, the Council of Ministers issued a decree on the punishment of breach of labor contracts. The first section, as published in the official gazette, reads as follows:

"Whoever breaks his agricultural labor contract with a State farm or Machine Station by willfully neglecting his duty or arbitrarily ceasing to work—insofar as his act

does not come under the provisions of a stricter criminal code, particularly the provisions of a decree with the force of law No. 4 of 1950, on the protection of planned economy—commits an offense punishable by up to 3,000 forints fine . . . [and these] legal proceedings come under jurisdiction of the police."

Soviet Orientation

In Romania, the Communist press publishes page-long articles daily lauding Soviet agro-technical methods, Soviet farm machinery, Soviet Stakhanovites in agriculture, etc., with resounding titles such as (*Scanteia*, April 24, 25, 9):

"Soviet Agro-technical Methods: A Guarantee for Bumper Crops."

"The New Technique on the Socialist Fatherland's Fields."

"Know and Use the Buneev Method."

The main theme is praise for everything Soviet. Thus, in the April 24 article, *Scanteia* wrote:

"The rich crops obtained last year . . . prove conclusively the decisive part played by the use of Soviet agro-techniques. . . . By using these methods, the collective farmers of Leordeni obtained a crop of 47 bushels of corn per acre, on 103 acres. . . . In the district of Targu-Mures, average crops increased considerably. Now, for instance, farmers harvest 28 bushels an acre for winter wheat, 26½ bushels an acre for spring wheat, 29 bushels an acre for corn."

An article in the April 25 issue of the same paper rejoiced about "a self-propelled combine":

"Last summer a self-propelled combine appeared on the experimental field. At first sight, nothing distinguished it from the thousands and thousands of combines which were gathering the gold of the Socialist Fatherland's fields.

"This combine was racing at top speed 'swallowing' the crop. It worked for 24 hours at top speed and harvested three times as much as a normal combine. What was the reason for this sensational record? To the normal sheering mechanism of a combine, M. A. Pustighin, a doctor of Technical Science, adapted an automatic electrical device, fed by a battery which he invented. With the aid of this device, the machine 'feels' the ground. . . ."

On April 9, *Scanteia* printed an article about I. Buneev, apparently the "inventor" of an "hourly graph" system, as applied to farm tractors:

"The basic condition for increasing productivity is the wide application of Soviet farming experience. So, for instance, ploughing and seeding work done according to the Soviet Stakhanovite Ivan Buneev's methods have given good results in autumn . . . but only half measures [have been taken] to extend its use. Thus . . . the Tractor and Machine Station's top management was surprised to find that the 30-odd technicians in charge of applying and supervising the work of tractors did not know the 'hourly graph' work. . . . Not even the Ministry of Agriculture's Political Department gave sufficient attention to the use of the Buneev method. . . ."

The Cultivation of Koksaghyz

The majority of the Collective farms in Lithuania have been ordered to plant crops of koksaghyz [a dandelion-type plant cultivated for its fleshy roots which yield latex used in the manufacture of synthetic rubber]. The cultivation of this plant is one of the most laborious branches of agriculture. *Tiesa* (Vilnius), March 23-26, made public the following report which was delivered at the Assembly of Agricultural Specialists of the Lithuanian SSR in Vilnius by Comrade P. Galai, "Hero of Socialist Labor," a guest from a Witeruthenian Collective farm:

"I would like to tell you how we succeeded in harvesting such large crops of koksaghyz from our turf fields which are submerged every spring. . . . We plow the field 36 cm. [12½ inches] deep in the fall. We prepare a freezer, using blocks of ice, where the koksaghyz seeds are stratified for a period of 25 days during the winter. The seed is examined every four hours, and moved so that the air may reach every grain.

"We fertilize the field with mineral fertilizer before sowing, sifting the fertilizer through a sieve so that it will spread evenly over the field. It is necessary to harrow the field with a disk harrow from 5 to 7 times, and to roll it twice. It is important to sow the koksaghyz seeds as early as possible while the earth is still damp, otherwise the vital sprouts will not grow. . . . Sprouts usually appear on the third or fourth day after sowing. Then it is necessary to hoe the earth around the sprouts with a light mattock. A second hoeing is necessary a little later, but this time with a rake. It is very important that there be no delay in the weeding, because weeds can overrun the koksaghyz and deprive it of all its food.

"After the seed is gathered, the earth around the roots of every plant must be deeply cultivated to allow air for the roots. . . . Before the roots are gathered, the leaves have to be cut. This must be done carefully in order to avoid cutting the head of the root, which is the richest container of the precious latex. Not one root should be left in the earth!"

A. Dicpetris, head of the Rubber-Latex Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, said at the same meeting:

"Though koksaghyz is a new culture in Lithuania, considerable achievements have already been reached in the production of rubber-latex. . . . The groups of koksaghyz farmers were selected from skilled and interested workers."

And the precedence of this project is exemplified by the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party has forbidden: ". . . the transfer of workers assigned to the koksaghyz plantations to any other work."

New Crops in Romania

An exiled agricultural expert provides information regarding the introduction of exotic plants, including koksaghyz, into Romania:

"Paralleling the Communist craze for Soviet techniques and methods, there is the craze for the cultivation

of certain varieties of plants which have been specially adapted to climatic conditions in parts of the USSR, or which, although uneconomical in themselves, fulfill certain requirements of the Soviet economy. Foremost among these are cotton, rice, and a plant named koksaghyz, reputed to produce some kind of latex from which rubber can be manufactured.

"Under Soviet pressure, the cultivation of rice and cotton has been extended to the extreme north of Romania and to mountainous regions which are wholly unsuitable for these plants. At the same time, great efforts are being made to increase the cultivation of koksaghyz, which was experimented with before the war and found completely uneconomical."

And Romania's Radio Bucharest, April 18, announced that:

"The Ministry of Agriculture has issued a communique concerning the sowing of cotton. Besides the regions located in the Danube valley, cotton will also be sown in Arges, Baia Mare, Bacau, Barlad, and others. In the latter, the sowing of cotton will begin when the temperature of the soil is 10 degrees, at a depth of 20 cm.; it will be completed not later than April 13."

The Bucharest paper, *Scanteia*, April 20, carried an editorial on the above mentioned communique, stressing the importance of: "Romania becoming independent of foreign cotton. . . . The generous aid of the Soviet Union has enabled the RPR to put an end to the blackmail deals practiced by capitalists to the detriment of the working people. . . . To increase cotton output, the sowing zones have been extended northward for a distance of 1,000 km."

Piece Work Payment

Tiesa, organ of the Communist Party of Lithuania, January 5, suggested that the Collective farms in Lithuania follow the pattern of a system of payment by piece similar to one applied at a Collective farm in the province of Kostroma (Russia):

"Good accounting methods and the right organization of work . . . make possible payment, by piece, for accomplished work. It raises the initiative of workers to do a better job and it increases their sense of responsibility. . . .

"For 100 liters of milk, the worker is credited with 1½ work days in summer and 2 work days in winter.

"For breeding a cow at the right time—2 work days.

"For attending the successful birth of a calf and keeping it in good health—7 work days.

"For taking care of growing calves—1.3 work days for every 10 kg. (24 lbs.) the calf gains."

Bulgarian Cotton . . .

In its editorial of April 10, *Zemедельско Зname* (Sofia), urged the cultivation of industrial crops in Bulgaria:

"According to the economic plan for 1952, the area to be sown with cotton must be increased by 765 percent in comparison to 1944, and the average crop must be 80

kilos per decare [decare— $\frac{1}{4}$ acre]. According to the Department of Agriculture, the districts of Stalin and Burgas have fulfilled their plans by only 79.9 and 94.4 percent respectively. . . . Irrigated areas are also far behind. They were expected to increase 308 percent over 1951, but as of April 7, only 69.5 percent of the plan had been fulfilled. The districts of Pleven (34.1 percent), Haskovo (46.7 percent), Vratza (66 percent), and Stara Zagora (71.6 percent) are also far behind."

... Vineyards ...

According to a Bulgarian refugee, recently escaped from his country, a new plan for increasing the area of Bulgarian vineyards, to 100,000 hectares, has been put into operation:

"The USSR is displaying great interest in the development of viticulture in Bulgaria and has requested the Bulgarian government to develop to the maximum the vine which produces the famous Bolgar grape. According to the plan, new vineyards will be planted in North Bulgaria, along the banks of the Danube and in the region of Pleven. The plan provides for an increase in production of 600,000 tons of high grade grapes for export within the next few years, i.e., twice the prewar production."

... and Roses

Difficulties in rose cultivation are reported from Bulgaria, one of the world's leading exporters of attar of roses. The newspaper *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), March 25, published the following:

"Our country is well known for producing high quality attar of roses, the best in the world. . . . The present condition of our rose gardens is still very unsatisfactory . . . efforts to correctly develop and cultivate the roses are insufficient. During last year, in such districts as Karlovo, Plovdiv, Chirpan, and Kazanluk, the rose gardens were not plowed in time and during the summer the young roses were neglected. . . . Measures were not taken to prevent freezing in winter. . . . A high yield in attar of roses is a guarantee of a higher export, which increases the import of valuable machines for the building of Socialism."

Irrigation in Albania

Albania's Radio Tirana, May 12, presented a report on "Amelioration and Canalization of Albania," which included news of the opening of the Peqin-Kavaje canal—begun when Albania was a free country and completed during the Italian occupation. Two other canals in Myzeqeja (in Fieri and Lushnje), finished by the Italo-Albanian corporation of A. Marinucci in 1943, were also mentioned. The report stated in part that:

"The soil in prewar Albania was tilled with primitive wooden plows and there were hardly any tractors or fertilizers. No irrigation or canal system existed. Less than 50 percent of grain requirements were covered by domestic production, although Albania was predominantly an agrarian country.

"New and bright vistas have been opened to the farmers by the agrarian reform. The government has created machinery stations and provided tractors not only for State-owned estates and kolkhozes but also for independent farmers. Funds of tens of millions of *leks* have been allotted for agrarian loans. Important canalization and soil reclamation projects have been completed or are now being executed.

"Eight thousand two hundred hectares of land have been reclaimed around Lake Maliq in southeastern Albania. The new fertile fields are sown with sugar beets, and a large sugar factory has been built in this area. This factory can largely cover domestic requirements. Albania will be able to export sugar in the coming years for the first time in her history. Fine buildings have been erected in the middle of the former swamp.

"Other ameliorations have been completed in the Durazzo fields and in the areas of Kavaje and Valona. Only 29,000 hectares were irrigated in prewar Albania. In 1951, irrigated areas covered over 41,000 hectares. This figure will be increased to 83,000 hectares at the end of the Five Year Plan.

"The Peqin-Kavaje canal forms part of the amelioration projects. This year the canal will begin to carry the water of the Shkumbi river to irrigate the large fields around Kavaje. Several minor canals have been completed in the Myzeqeja area where over 7,000 hectares will be reclaimed.

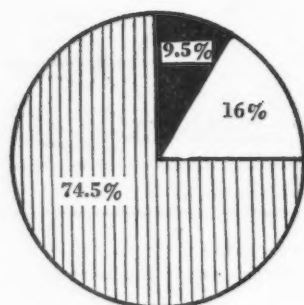
"A Canal 50 kilometers in length will be opened in the Fieri region. One thousand hectares of land will be reclaimed in the Sarande district. A canal of 18 kilometers will be built in the Scutari area. . . . The waters of the Turkuze River near Tirana will be collected in a large reservoir serving the irrigation needs of 2,500 hectares of land. . . ."

The high percentage of private farms testifies to the difficulties of collectivization in the Satellite countries. In the Baltic states of LITHUANIA, LATVIA (figures unavailable for both), and Estonia, less than two percent remain uncategorized; although in effect, the control is total. The size and distribution of farm units in these three countries, and indeed in many parts of the Satellite bloc, is such that a speedy centralization is extremely uneconomic.

A possible solution to this problem has been introduced in Romania in the form of agricultural "partnerships" set up in September 1951. No figures have been published as yet, but extensive propaganda has been launched recently to induce the peasants to join them.

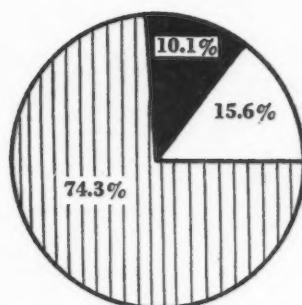
The data for Albania were not published until March 1952.

Arable Land Distribution



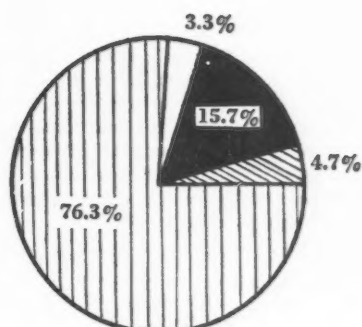
HUNGARY

(as of June 1952)



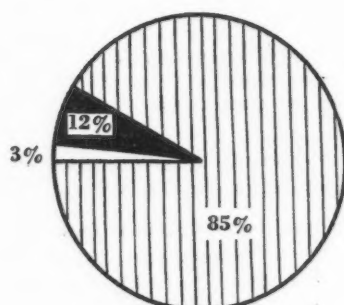
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(as of December 1951)



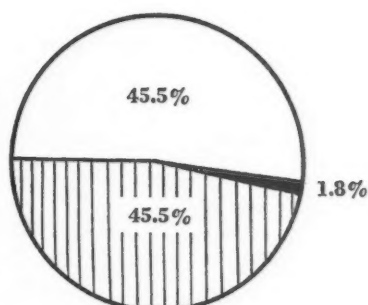
ROMANIA

(as of May 1952)



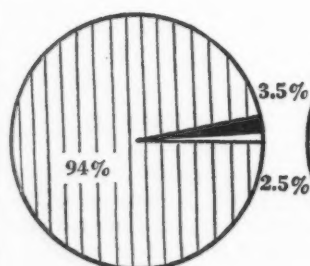
POLAND

(as of May 1952)



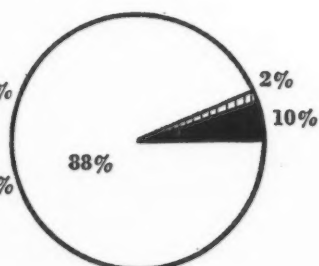
BULGARIA

(as of April 1952)



ALBANIA

(as of 1950)



ESTONIA

(as of May 1952)



Collective Farms (Kolkhozes)



Private Farms



State Farms (Sovkhozes)



Soviet Property

Frost Damage in Hungary

The May 24 and 25 issues of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), the official publication of the Hungarian Communist Party, carried a decree of the People's Economic Council along with a commentary on the grave frost damages:

"The People's Economic Council declared that in certain areas the crops have suffered severe frost damages, but that no serious harm was done to bread-grain and fodder crops. Damages to other plants can be remedied by skilled agro-technique and perseverance. . . . All State farms, Producers' Cooperatives, and individual farmers are compelled to remedy frost damages and guarantee good crops by diligent work and advanced agro-technique. . . ."

According to a report from an Hungarian agricultural expert who arrived in Vienna on June 2:

"The long drought in the second part of May was followed by hail and frost. The weather was disastrous for fodder crops, corn, potatoes, garden vegetables, oil-bearing crops, and fiber crops. Livestock feed supplies were particularly endangered; this was an especially hard blow for the regime, which officially claims that this agricultural production sector is already the most backward. Substantial damage was also done to bread-grain crops, although not as serious as that done to the above mentioned crops."

Tractor Trouble

Great stress is put by all Bulgarian newspapers on the importance of the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS). In its editorial of May 21, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), criticized the maintenance of these all-important machines:

"The time has come when the last stage in the struggle for the attainment of high yields has been reached. Thanks to the care of the Party and government our farms have been supplied with the best Soviet techniques. . . . This year the MTS will reap almost 40 percent of the entire area and will thresh almost the entire crop. . . . [Premier] Chervenkov states that the MTS are the 'bulwark of Socialism in the villages.'"

"The nonfulfillment of the Plan in the Plovdiv and Sofia regions is the result of poor repair work on the machines. These MTS caused great losses to the national economy and brutally violated the agreements concluded with the TKZS [Collective farms]. Burgas Okrug is seriously lagging behind in repair work. . . . The repair work in Vratza Okrug is also unsatisfactory. The Party organizations did not assist the councils in applying progressive methods of work in the repair of the machines."

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), May 13, published a government resolution regarding the taking over of Polish Cooperative Machinery Centers by State Machinery Centers:

"... In order to use agricultural machinery to the best advantage, the government Presidium, acting on the

Lemaradás van a sertésbeadásban



Röft: Így aztán tessék versenyezni!

Title: "There is a lag in pig delivery"

Caption: "I am handicapped in this competition [by the Kulak]"

(From the Hungarian weekly, *Ludas Matyi*, April 10)

resolution of the Central Cooperative Association, has decided to take Cooperative Machinery Centers from the village cooperatives, and to combine them with the State Machinery Centers. . . . All employees of the Cooperative Machinery Centers will be merged with the employees of the State Machinery Centers and they will manage the village stations. . . . The work in villages will be supervised by State Machinery Centers. The quality of tractor work will rise."

The reason for the disbanding of Cooperative Machinery Centers was explained by *Trybuna Ludu*, May 18:

"The Cooperative Machinery Centers have given good service during the past year, but because they constituted a part of the Peasant Self-Help Cooperative (which deal primarily with trade activities), they were deprived of sufficient aid and control, necessary repair shops, and experienced mechanics. These shortcomings often resulted in the nonfulfillment of obligations, especially in respect to machine maintenance, and led to inefficient utilization of machinery. The absence of political direction also produced grave consequences, such as deviations from Party policy regarding mechanization and prices."

II. SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Wages and prices give the clearest picture of a country's standard of living as it directly affects the individual. Such data for the Iron Curtain countries are difficult to obtain. Available information is compiled chiefly from refugee reports and rarely-published official lists which are often incomplete and contradictory.

Inadequate housing, rationing, special retail outlets, a so-called "free market," and manufactured products of inferior quality symbolize general conditions with which the people of Eastern Europe have to cope.

Commodity Prices in Bulgaria

An exiled Bulgarian economist presents a comparative study of the standard of living in his country:

"According to studies done by the General Board of Statistics in Bulgaria before World War II, the average Bulgarian family was composed of the parents and two children. With an average income of 42,000 *leva* yearly, all prewar needs of this family were met, and an approximate 8 percent of their income was invested in some savings bank or in housing.

"In its Yearbook for 1939, the International Labor Bureau established the following data on food consumption per annum and per capita in a Bulgarian working family (unit and total prices expressed in *leva*):

Goods	Quantity	1938		1952	
		Unit	price	Unit	price
Bread	211.7 kgs	5.00	1,058	6.00	1,270.20
Flour	70.0 kgs	4.1	287	6.8	476.
Potatoes	19.1 kgs	5.2	100	1.4	26.7
Butter	0.5 kgs	63.	31	30.0	15.
Eggs	70.	2.	140	0.8	56.
Meat	29.4 kgs	24.1	708	15.2	446.9
Lard	5.5 kgs	39.5	167	24.	132.
Sugar	9.3 kgs	22.9	212	9.6	89.3
Total	415.5 kgs		2,703		2,512
For a family	1,662 kgs		10,812		10,048

"According to the Communist press, after the recent Monetary Reform the average salary of a Bulgarian worker is 420 *leva* monthly, or 5,040 *leva* yearly (126,000 old *leva*). While the same worker could feed his family with less than 25 percent of his salary in 1938, today his total income can hardly pay for half of the food needed by the family. That is to say that the living standard in Communist Bulgaria has been lowered 8 times compared to prewar conditions.

"After the Monetary Reform of May 11, and the abolition of rationing cards, the Communist press announced the new State prices. Here are some of those prices, reduced to their corresponding working time, on the basis of the average worker's salary which is officially announced as 14 *leva* daily:

	Leva	Time
1 liter milk	4.00	2 h. 15'
1 liter salad oil	20.00	11 h. 25'
1 kilo lard	24.00	13 h. 40'
1 serving ice cream	.60	0 h. 20'
1 kilo yellow cheese	20.00	11 h. 25'
1 kilo white flour	6.80	3 h. 55'
1 kilo new potatoes	3.76	2 h. 08'
1 kilo tomatoes	12.00	6 h. 45'
1 kilo strawberries	4.00	2 h. 17'
1 kilo meat	15.20	8 h. 40'
1 kilo rice	10.00	5 h. 50'
1 kilo sugar	9.60	5 h. 30'
1 kilo salt	1.20	0 h. 42'
1 pack of cigarettes (20)	2.40	1 h. 25'
1 newspaper	.20	0 h. 06'
1 pair men's shoes	240.	17 days, 1h.
1 pair women's summer shoes	92.	6 days, 4 h. 35'
1 overcoat	360.	25 days, 5 h. 35'

1 pair cotton socks	13.60	4 h. 46'
1 wind breaker	139.20	10 days
1 meter silk	85.60	6 days, 1 h.
1 meter woolen worsted material	68.	5 days
1 shirt, cotton	68.	5 days
1 heating coal stove, Pernik	648.	46 days, 6 h.
1 small radio	880.	62 days, 7 h.
1 electric iron	76.	5 days, 3 h.
1 single iron bed	292.	20 days, 6 h.
1 wardrobe	795.	56 days, 6 h.

The standard of living of the rural population is described by a Bulgarian peasant who recently fled his country:

"Wages in kolkhozes are paid according to 'work days' of labor performed. A 'work day' denotes a labor quota rather than a period of work of 10 or 12 hours. In most cases, a 'work day' is completed by the peasants in at least twice that time. . . . [Thus] an average Bulgarian kolkhoz inmate can expect to receive wages for an estimated 180 to 200 'work days' per year, although he may have worked as many as 300 days to complete the set quota.

"For the most part, wages are paid in agricultural produce; very little money is paid to the peasants. On the average, an estimated 2 to 3.5 kilos of wheat per 'work day' is allowed. . . . A kolkhoz inmate from a village in the vicinity of Lom reported that in 1951, he was fortunate to be accredited with 180 'work days.' He stated that most other inmates received as little as 140 'work days' wages, calculated as 2.5 kilos of crude, low quality wheat per 'work day.' He received a bonus of 10,000 *leva* and on that, plus 450 kilos of wheat, he had to maintain a family of five. . . .

"Since the beginning of 1951, a new method for punishing 'saboteurs' has existed: 'Work days' are deducted from their pay. The slightest opposition to a petty order can result in a five 'work days' reduction. Charges of insubordination have been known to cost the peasant as many as 15 of his hard earned 'work days.'"

Polish Price Lists

Official food prices are not made public in Poland but a refugee who arrived in this country in March gives the following figures for Gdansk:

Commodity	Price (in zlotys)
1 kg. flour	3.
1 kg. sugar	5.25
1 kg. wheat bread	1.9
1 kg. rye bread	1.54
1 kg. of peas or beans	2.60
1 kg. rice	.90
1 egg	2.60
1 kg. cheese	40.
1 kg. butter	55-60.
1 liter milk	1.70
1 kg. smoked herring	20.
1 lemon (rationed, 1 per month)	16-18.
1 kg. coffee	500.
1 can sardines in olive oil	60.
1 liter alcohol	100.

According to *Gazeta Handlowa* (Warsaw), April 22-29, the following official clothing prices, as published by the Ministry of Internal Trade, prevail in Poland at the present time:

Commodity	Price (in zlotys)
Boy's suit	500
Man's suit	820-1140
Spring topcoat	365-890
Men's trousers, 111C Model	350
Women's pajamas	117
Girl's coat	375
Woman's blouse	60
Woman's skirt	110
Man's hat	63
Woman's handbag	40-100
Man's shirt	39-100
Women's shoes (regular)	140-225
Men's shoes	300
Children's shoes	85

A Polish refugee from another section of the country, who arrived here at the end of May, lists the following prices:

Commodity	Price (in zlotys)
Food	
1 pork chop (in communal dining room)	6.70
1 kg. sugar (free market)	25-30
1 kg. sugar (coupons)	5.25
1 kg. butter (free market)	34-42
1 kg. butter (coupons)	28
1 egg (free market)	1.80
1 egg (coupons)	1.20
1 liter milk	1.45-1.80
1 kg. margarine (coupons)	11.25
1 kg. pork chop	12-14
1 kg. lard	14-15
1 kg. ham	18-20
1 kg. tea	250
1 kg. pepper	400-500
1 kg. rice	22.50
1 g. soap (free market)	40
1 liter grape wine	40
1 bottle beer	1.20

Clothing

1 man's suit (100 percent wool)	1300-1800
Tailoring of suit	400
Raincoat (poor quality)	130
Man's pullover (30 percent wool)	100
Man's cap	39
1 pair of socks	25-30
Woman's dress (60 percent wool)	285-415
Woman's coat with interlining	310-555
1 pair of cotton stockings	15
1 pair of silk stockings	70
1 pair of nylons	120

Shoes

1 pair men's shoes (cheapest, rubber soles)	130
1 pair men's shoes (good quality)	500

1 pair ladies' shoes (hand made)	600-700
1 pair ladies' shoes (machine made)	390

Hotels in Warsaw

Single room without bath	35
Single room with bath	43
Double room without bath	59

According to official announcements 30 percent of the Polish workers earn from 270 to 360 *zlotys* per month, 40 percent—from 360 to 480, 18 percent—from 480 to 600, 10 percent—from 600 to 720, and 2 percent, above 720.

An exiled Polish economist explains the variations in prices:

"The nationalization of retail trade in Poland was intended to reduce prices and benefit the consumer. However, the State owned stores have been operating at a deficit, due primarily to inadequate supply, high administrative cost, and general inefficiency. To remedy this situation, the government has allowed individual stores to operate on a private enterprise basis—basing prices on overhead.

"As all profits accrue to the State, any deficits resulting from shortages are automatically absorbed by consumer retail prices."

Hungary: 1938 and 1952

A recently escaped Hungarian economist compares his country's past and present standard of living as follows:

"Instead of a commentary, let us scrutinize the figures. Let us compare the current status with that of 1938, and we shall immediately see that the Communists did not raise but considerably lowered the standard of living. Today the average worker's wage amounts to 700 *forints* per month, as compared with 114 *pengoes* in 1938. If we allow only 10 percent for deductions—although the Communists deduct much more under various titles—the balance amounts to 630 *forints*, or 102.6 1938 *pengoes*. Let us see what a worker could buy for this sum in 1938 and what he can buy now:

Commodity	Price		What the workman could buy (approx.) on his monthly wage in	
	1938	1952	1938	1952
	Pengoe	Forint		
1 Egg	0.08	1.80	1,275 eggs	350 eggs
1 kg. Potatoes	0.11	3.60	930 kgs	175 kgs
1 kg. Spinach	0.23	6.00	450 kgs	105 kgs
1 Roll	0.04	0.65	2,550 rolls	1,000 rolls
1 lt. Milk	0.30	3.00	340 lts	210 lts
1 kg. Sugar	1.06	11.20	103 kgs	56 kgs
1 kg. Lard	1.62	35.00	63 kgs	18 kgs
1 kg. Sausage	1.70	43.00	60 kgs	15 kgs
1 kg. Noodles	1.00	14.80	102 kgs	43 kgs
1 m. q. Wood	5.75	50.00	1,800 kgs	1,200 kgs
1 m. q. Coal briquets	6.00	60.00	1,700 kgs	1,000 kgs

1 pair socks	0.78	20.00*	132 pairs	32 pairs
man's shirt	4.00	80.00	25 shirts	8 shirts
1 meter man's suiting	10.00	300.00	10 meters	2 meters
1 pair men's shoes	18.50	750.00	5 pairs	1 pair on 5 weeks pay
medium quality 'Loden' coat	25.00	997.00	4 coats	1 coat on 6 weeks pay

The Darex Stores

The Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade set up early in 1949 a special trading company for the purpose of selling consumers goods to Czechoslovak customers who were able to pay either in hard currencies or in gold. The company, with the head office in Prague and branches in a number of larger cities, is named Darex. Darex agencies exist in several Western countries; one is located in New York. According to a former employee of Darex in Prague, who worked there until November 1951:

"The central office of Darex in Prague is at No. 11 Venceslas Square, in a four story building, with a building at the back. About 300 employees, 200 of them women, are working there. In January 1951, 20 of the male workers were transferred to production. They could choose between building, heavy and light industry. In September 1951, 80 more of the male workers were transferred to heavy industry and to the mines, according to the government ordinance of June, 1951. The sales rooms of Darex are on the ground and first floor, and there is also the Foreign exchange window of the Czechoslovak State Bank. . . .

"The planned turnover for 1951 amounted to 100,000,000 *koruny*—approx. \$2,000,000, but it is estimated that only 80 percent of the Plan was fulfilled. The store does not accept cash, but special checks, exchanged for dollars or other Western currency. If someone receives dollar bills or other foreign bills in his letters he usually finds attached a note from the censor with the order to exchange the bills within eight days, at the State Bank. The addressee also can exchange the foreign currencies for *koruny*, at the rate of 49.55 *koruny* per dollar or 120 *koruny* per pound.

"Prices for Darex goods are supposed to be at the world market level and are about one tenth of the free market prices. There is high quality export merchandise available and many items are of far better quality than those on the free market. Here are some of the prices:

	Free market	Darex
Automobile Tudor Skoda	300,000 <i>koruny</i> — \$6,000	60,000 <i>koruny</i> —\$200
Automobile Tatraplan	1,000,000 <i>koruny</i> — \$20,000	120,000 <i>koruny</i> —\$2,400
1 kg. Coffee	1,500 <i>koruny</i> —\$30	140 <i>koruny</i> —\$2.80
1 kg. Rice	300 <i>koruny</i> —\$6	25 <i>koruny</i> —\$.50
Sardines	200 <i>koruny</i> —\$4	17 <i>koruny</i> —\$.32

"So-called 'gift certificates' from abroad are being registered and the addressees have to show their identi-

* Prices from here down refer to special-order clothing, as ready-made clothing is very difficult to obtain.

cation cards when buying at the Darex store, or their authorization, if the purchases are done by a third person. The purchase is marked down on the certificate, and the customer has to sign an acknowledgment, stating his satisfaction with the merchandise. The certificates are valid only for three months from the date of issue.

"A branch of Darex was opened at the Prague airport, in the departure hall of the foreign building. The customers there received a cashier's check which had to be paid in foreign currency in the small branch office of the State Bank at the airport, and upon presentation of the confirmed check, obtained their purchased merchandise. Following the prohibition of flights over Germany and as a result of the restricted air transportation, the Darex branch at the airport was closed in early November 1951."

Rationing and Controls

On May 2, the Communist regime in Poland introduced new drastic restrictions in the consumption of soap and washing powders. *Trybuna Ludu*, May 2, published a report of the Ministry of Internal Trade, ordering:

"... Soap and washing powders will be sold only upon the surrendering of meat and fat coupons. . . . In May, the coupon owners of category I/S will receive 250 grams of washing soap for coupon No. 6 and 250 grams of other washing media for coupon No. 7. . . . Identical amounts will be given for coupons Nos. 8 and 9 in categories, DzI-A, DzI-B, and DzI-C. . . . Fat and meat coupons should be registered in soap stores or in other places selling washing media."

In 1950, (*Trybuna Ludu*, July 16), Vice-Prime Minister Hilary Minc promised that at the end of the Six Year Plan, "Poland will produce 88.1 thousand tons of soap in comparison to 41.8 thousand tons in 1949." However, in the second year of the Six Year Plan there was an acute shortage of soap in Poland, and this year, the third, rationing is introduced.

And, regarding meat rationing, *Glos Pracy*, March 30, wrote:

"As the present unlimited consumption of meat in public eating places cannot be reconciled with the meat and meat-products trade regulations, the Ministry of Domestic Commerce has directed that beginning April 1, restaurant patrons will be required to surrender their meat-fat coupons in an amount corresponding to the quantity of meat-stuff used in the ordered meal. . . . Persons who are not entitled to meat-fat coupons will be able to consume meat meals in the restaurants but at higher prices."

Tighter controls on sugar distribution were reported by Radio Warsaw on May 11:

"On May 10, the government Presidium adopted a decision requiring coupons for the purchase of sugar and sweets. The ordinance reveals that . . . very many

examples of speculative buying have taken place. . . . Sugar and sweets will be sold at present prices upon the surrender of coupons and free purchase, at commercial prices, will be carried on simultaneously. All products of sugar, including sugar as a raw material, are to be available on the free market. . . .

"The Ministry of Internal Trade has published a report fixing monthly purchase norms which are dependant on a category of meat coupons and amount to 1 kg. to 2.5 kgs. of sugar a month per person. . . . Children are allowed $\frac{1}{4}$ kg. of sweets per month. . . . A consumer pays 5.25 zlotys for 1 kg. of sugar and for sweets, according to a price list effective as of May 10.

"Employees entitled to a ration of sugar but not entitled to meat-fat coupons, will obtain a ration of sugar on the basis of specially prepared personal lists."

"Accustomed to Inferior Quality"

The weekly *Trybuna Wolnosci* (Warsaw), April 8, published the following report on the clothing manufacturing industry in Poland:

"The earth could be encircled 10 times along the equator with textiles used by the State garment industry since 1947—about 400 million meters of fabric. . . . In 1951, the State garment industry manufactured over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million suits (three times as many as in 1950), $1\frac{1}{2}$ million dresses, over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million men's overcoats, and over 600,000 women's coats.

"Manufactured? Yes! But how? This could be the answer of many who are accustomed to the inferior



"Who made your awful looking clothes?"

"The Defenders of Warsaw garment factory."

"Well, I'm the manager of that factory."

"Gee! Where did you get your smart suit?"

"I bought it with the premium which I received for having fulfilled the Plan in my factory."

(From the Polish newspaper, *Szpilki*, April 1952)

quality of manufactured clothing. Once I got trousers with one pocket sewn to the lower part of the leg . . . and an overcoat with pockets sewn at the knee. . . . In Poznan factory a woman worker, unable to find a piece of material which was supposed to be sewn in the pocket, cut out the needed piece from the lower part of the leg. . . ."

"Blitz" Construction

A Polish refugee who was a tenant of the apartment house described, outlines a typical example of the housing problem in that country:

"Tenants of the apartment house in Stettin (Admirala and Zymierski Streets) are witnesses of the rapid disintegration of the nice, modern apartments for which they fought so stubbornly only a year and a half ago.

"In 1949, the Polish press and radio proudly announced that the Navy Ministry was to construct not less than four thousand rooms for State employees. . . . shortly thereafter construction started. As Soviet construction methods were applied, the new building was completed by October 1, 1950, and the happy tenants moved in the following month. . . . But the 'new' houses were a mere reconstruction of the war-damaged Customs House. . . . The walls were not demolished but only patched up despite the fact that they had been exposed for several years to all kinds of weather. . . . Accumulating moisture has gradually penetrated to the surface of the newly plastered walls. . . . In the spring of 1951, large patches of plaster started falling off. . . . Dampness forced windows and doors out of shape so that they could no longer open or close. . . . The management was flooded with complaints.

"So serious was the dampness that leather would be covered with a thin layer of mold if exposed overnight. . . . And the health of the tenants became affected.

"The majority of tenants are now endeavouring to move out, but all applications for other housing have been flatly rejected. Those who have moved out without authorization have been accused of 'deliberately damaging State property.'"

"Not Available for Living"

The Latvian daily *Cina* (Riga), February 27, reported:

"Repairs have been in progress on No. 28 Star Street since 1948 and half a million rubles have already been spent. The original deadline set for their completion has never been met and they have taken such a long time that the water pipes and walls of the building are in a state of near collapse.

"The sub-office of the Riga Building Trust is responsible for the slow work and the attention of the Riga Executive Committee of the Housing Supervisory Board and Building Trust has been drawn to this fact. Administrator of the trust, Comrade Sobonov, inspected the premises accompanied by Chief-Engineer Jakobsons. They made great promises, but no improvements have been noticed thus far. The repairs are not progressing and the premises are not available for living."

And *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), May 6, criticized the present housing situation in Estonia:

"In Tallinn in 1946 . . . about 30 houses were repaired. . . . In 1951 the builders of Tallinn constructed 214 buildings. . . . In the post-war era over 600 houses have been built or repaired. . . . However, the rate of construction does not satisfy the needs of the people. . . . On the most important squares and avenues empty areas still exist which must be built up. Several big buildings remain uncompleted year after year.

"The Estonian SSR Administration of Architecture, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Building-Material Industry, the architectural division of the Estonian SSR Academy of Science, and several other organizations are those chiefly concerned with building activities, but the necessary cooperation between these various institutions is practically non-existent."

III. DEVELOPMENTS IN LABOR

Official criticism is combined with legislative action to correct the continued indifference and noncooperation of many Soviet-bloc workers.

A speech by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, a decree on overtime work, and the increased importance of women in industry are among recent signal events.

At a meeting of the chairmen of plant councils and rural organizations of the Prague Communist Party, held on June 6, Prime Minister A. Zapotocky discussed and strongly criticized the general labor situation in Czechoslovakia. His speech was published in the entire press and *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 7, quoted:

"By adjusting wages to the monetary reform, the so-called 'hunger wages' were abolished. The increase was an adjustment. Wages and salaries of workers of the medium category were trebled, whereas the wages of workers of lower categories were increased as much as seven times. . . .

"The average wages in industrial production in the first quarter of the year are 100 percent higher than the average wages in 1946. In 1946 the average pay per hour amounted to 13 *koruny*, in the first quarter of this year to 27 *koruny*. However, the volume of production and the value of work produced did not increase by 100 percent during the same period. We have to face many difficulties because the wage policy has not always been fully respected.

"Just recently we had the case of the worker-manager of a large construction project who paid 30 million *koruny* [\$600,000] in bonuses without previous authorization. The bonuses were frequently paid without reason or motivation. Individual workers received bonuses of hundreds of thousands. . . . Many had a monthly income of several tens of thousands and the bonuses paid were in no way proportionate to the value of the work.

"Following the wage increases, great pressure was applied for a restriction of the wage tax and there were many claims for exemption. It so happens that a miner, whatever his wages, never pays more than 79 *koruny* [\$1.58] monthly. It is certainly necessary to abolish the

senseless progressive tax which consumed and still consumes more than one half of the people's income, but it is also necessary to reform the wage tax, so that every citizen enjoying State care . . . should contribute to the State's expenditure according to his income.

"Socialist competition, speeding up and strengthening of norms, exploitation of techniques, suggestions for innovations, optimum use of machinery, all that, Comrades, is the only Socialist way to wage increases, to increased productivity and to the safeguarding of peace and the general prosperity.

"Absenteeism is the scourge of production. . . . The Nejedly pit, in Kladno, constantly lags in plan fulfillment because of absenteeism, which in March reached almost 20 percent. The lack of discipline at this pit is illustrated by the fact that only 55 percent of the employees came to the regular shift on Saturday, March 22.

"We do not even consider liquidating the Trade Unions or restricting their activities or authority. Our reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of Socialism suffers, due to the inadequate initiative of the Trade Unions which fail to participate. This must be changed. Our revolutionary Trade Unions certainly played a big part in the struggle against capitalist reaction. They displayed great merit in defeating the reactionary February *putsch* and can and must play an equally important part today in Socialist construction. The necessity of the reorganization of the Trade Unions and Trade Union organizations must be openly discussed, so that the masses of the workers in the plants may be mobilized for the construction of Socialism in industry and agriculture."

"Decree on Overtime Work"

The Bulgarian newspaper *Troud* (Sofia), May 15, printed the "Decree on Overtime Work" as published in *Izvestia* of the Presidium on May 14. The most important orders follow:

"1. Work done after the established working hours by a worker or employee on the order of, or with the knowledge of, the manager of an enterprise, government office, or organization, is considered as overtime work. . . .

"3. The duration of overtime work during a certain period of time (day, week, month) within the 150 hours overtime work allowed per year, is defined as follows:

- a. No more than four hours for two successive working days and three hours for two successive working nights. The overtime night work cannot exceed two hours in 24 hours;
- b. No more than 10 hours in a week for day work and eight hours for night work;
- c. No more than 40 hours in a month.

"4. The restrictions on point 3 do not refer to cases when the work is in connection with national defense or in case of national emergency.

"In connection with the 150 hours of overtime work per year, the Central Council of the Trade Union has defined the cases which are not affected by the restrictions imposed by point 3:

"7. In case of uninterrupted productive processes

where the four-shift system is not introduced, as well as in cases with three shift, uninterrupted work, where owing to the nature of the work, the night shift is eight hours, an overtime work of two hours in 24 hours during the entire year is permitted.

"8. Overtime work, whether it is permitted or not, is paid by an increase of 25 percent for the first two hours or part thereof, and by 50 percent for the following hour or part thereof.

"11. Workers and employees cannot refuse to perform the orders of the administration of an enterprise, government office, or organization regarding overtime work. If they consider the order illegal, they must present their case before the Union Committee without interrupting their work.

"13. Overtime work for lost time owing to delays and absenteeism is not allowed.

"14. Vacation-time as a compensation for overtime work is also not permissible."

It appears that the purpose of this "Decree" is to introduce obligatory and normal overtime work, thus extending the work day from 8 to 10 hours (See items 4, 7, 8, and 11).

The Training of Cadres

An editorial in *Scanteia* (Bucharest), April 29, admitted that in Romania the cadres of trained personnel qualified to fill administrative and executive positions in government enterprises is inadequate:

"The economic education of cadres is of the greatest importance . . . [augmenting] the task of raising their political and ideological level. Comrade Stalin teaches us that 'in practice, politics and economics are inseparable. They co-exist and act together.' In 1949, Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej stated that 'Party organs in the Socialist enterprises have the duty to study and assimilate the problems of planning regarding both management and production, in order to be able to help with the running of the enterprises and to carry out competently Party control. . . ."

"The analysis offered by the Party and by the government when the monetary reform was put into effect revealed that the cadres are insufficiently familiar with economic problems. . . . As a result, some cadres have not been able to effectively control or manage various sections of the national economy. . . . For a long time, the Craiova district Party Secretary for economic problems did not know the mechanics of contracts for agricultural products. This prevented him from taking steps to end the lag in contracts in his district.

"The work begun must be expanded. . . . A major role is assigned to the Committee for Higher Education and to the Ministry of Public Education. The local press must also make its contribution towards the propagation of economic and financial knowledge. These tasks are also incumbent on the radio, magazines, the Committee for Cultural Institutions, the Association for the Dissemination of Science and Culture, the I. V. Michurin Associations, and other scientific and cultural organizations. . . ."

New Jobs for Women

The resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, issued on May 20, 1951, stipulated that both in every field of the economy and in state administration the potential need in manpower should be covered largely by women up to 50 percent. The May, 1952, report of the Budapest Bureau of Statistics described progress thus far:

"During 1951, the number of women working in factory and building industries increased by 78,500 . . . roughly 138,000 women were working in the various branches of our planned economy. In 1930, women constituted 25.8 percent of the total number of workmen and employees. To date the quota of female laborers has increased by 32.3 percent. In the building industry, the quota of female labor is 13 times as large; in the iron and metal industries, four times as large; and in transportation, three times as large as in 1930.

"The ratio of women workers in food, clothing and textile industries was always comparatively high; however, women have only recently gained ground in heavy industry. For instance, 62 percent of the foundry workers, 26 percent of crane operators, and 12 percent of the milling machine operators are women. In the electrical industry, women constitute 42 percent of the coilers. . . . In 1951, 456 women lathe operators and 400 women welders were employed in this industry. Women constitute 42.5 percent of the railroad and streetcar conductors and 62 percent of the post office employees. By the end of the year, 735 women drivers were working in transportation. Nearly 30 percent of the heads of producers' Cooperative groups are women and the urban and community councils have 60,000 women members.

"Working women have proved their efficiency not only in trades that are easily mastered but also in professions requiring greater skill. Women directors head 100 state enterprises, 658 women work as foremen, and 143 women are executives in planning and statistics. Women constitute 8.2 percent of Stakhanovites in heavy industry, 45.5 percent in light industry, and 21.7 percent of the administrative employees. Since 1948, the Kossuth Prize has been awarded to 31 women, and 1,051 women have received various other orders of merit of the People's Republic."

An editorial in the April 2 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), glorified women as lathe operators, Police and Army officers:

"In the stimulating atmosphere of freedom, women who had been relegated to the background for centuries, have at last found an outlet for their talent, their creative ability, their energy. Now they operate lathes, huge cranes, conduct street cars, direct street traffic. . . . Our hearts are filled with proud joy when we see them in military and police uniforms, when we hear their reports as heads of producers' Cooperatives, leaders of brigades. . . . 100 factory managers, 658 foremen, 696 crane operators, roughly 4,000 streetcar conductors, over 700 automobile drivers, over 600 tractor drivers, 111 heads of Producers' Cooperatives, 305 council chairmen—these figures are a vivid proof of the equality between men and women. . . ."

Captive Communications

I. RADIO BEHIND THE CURTAIN

The major purpose of Satellite radio broadcasting is to disseminate and popularize Marxist-Leninist doctrines and assist in the building of "Socialism." A Bulgarian newspaper described radio as a "weapon in the struggle to fulfill the five year plan in four years." In the current period, radio policy makers seemed chiefly concerned with the problem of counteracting the effects of free broadcasting and establishing central receiving stations for telephonic radios on an increasingly large scale. The need to produce radio programs which would carry the Communist message and yet entertain the listener was expressed in the press of several countries. "Radio Day" celebrated throughout the Soviet orbit was used as an occasion to take stock, plan for the future and inform the Communist world at large that Popov, not Marconi, invented the radio.

The Popov Line

Radio Moscow reminded its listeners that "the Soviet people celebrate [May 7] . . . to mark the wonderful invention by the outstanding Russian scientist, A. S. Popov." Bulgaria also celebrated "Radio Week," while in Poland several days were set aside in honor of Books, Press, Education, Film and Radio. An editorial in the Albanian newspaper *Bashkimi* of Tirana, lauded Popov in its May 7 issue: "More than half a century ago Popov gave to mankind the first radio apparatus." The children's edition of the Romanian Youth Organization's organ, *Pionierul*, (Bucharest), March 6, described Marconi's "theft" of the invention of radio from Popov in a dialogue peppered with exclamation marks:

"It happened in the summer. . . . The door opened;

in walked a tall, well-dressed man twirling a cane in his right hand.

'Good morning, Mr. Popov! Please don't get up. I hear that you don't feel well!'

'But, Sir, may I ask who you are?'

'My name is Marconi!'

'And what do you want from me?'

'I have heard about your work. I must confess that I find it most interesting. . . . Have you worked for long on your receiver?'

'Almost ten years!'

'Ten years. And when you think, Mr. Popov, that this hard work has not been rewarded accordingly by the Czarist regime! . . .'

'I have not been working for the Czarist regime, but for the development of Russian science, Mr. Marconi . . . for safe navigation. . . .'

'Mr. Popov, let's come to the point. I have come to see you in the name of a corporation. Turn over your invention to me. Our corporation is very rich. We will make you a large profit. . . .'

'Stop, Mr. Marconi, STOP!' cried Popov, trying to get up.

'Don't get upset, Mr. Popov, I only thought I could be helpful.'

'Helpful to whom, Mr. Marconi?'

'To whom? To science, of course! As you are ill and may not live too long . . . I advise you not to scorn my corporation's offer. Why don't you want to work for England?'

'I am a Russian, Mr. Marconi. All my knowledge, all my work and my achievements belong to Russia, and it is my duty to give only to my Fatherland. Go! Mr. Marconi,' Popov concluded, 'Leave immediately! . . . ' and he started to cough heavily. 'To no one, but my people will I give my discovery.'

"Mr. Marconi's base action did not stop here. He stole Popov's discovery with the help of businessmen from London and claimed it around the world as his own invention. It was only after the great Socialist October Revolution, when the working class came to power, that the truth was revealed. . . ."

In Bulgaria, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, of Sofia, carried an editorial on May 7 reiterating the Popov lie. Then, turning to the often heard propaganda theme, the editorial continued:

"While American and other capitalist radio stations are broadcasting savage, hateful and warmongering programs, the calm voices of Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Leningrad, Vladivostok and other Soviet radio stations describe Soviet progress and advocate peace and friendship. . . ."

On May 7, *Cina* (Riga) carried a panegyric on Moscow as the center of world radio achievement. In direct contrast, the capitalist countries were cited for their "warmongering" propaganda. "It is no wonder that people with healthy brains detest such propaganda and refuse to listen to these broadcasts."

A Program Sampling

Programs of political indoctrination dominate the broadcasting day in the captive countries of Europe with music and news in second place. In Albania, Radio Tirana's programs monitored for several weeks show that the home broadcasting day is divided into three periods starting in the morning at five A.M., ending at seven-thirty A.M.; resumed at one o'clock for two hours and then again in the evening from five-thirty until eleven P.M.

The broadcasting formula is news, music, political indoctrination, descriptions of Russian achievements, and tedious programs are devoted to special meetings, parades and congresses.

Before going to work, the early morning listener may participate in morning gymnastics, have the day's editorial from the Party organ *Zeri i Popullit* read to him, and may also listen to music.

In discussing the various aspects of radio in Poland on May 7, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) described a program entitled "The University of the Air." This program claims 190,000 student-listeners and is divided into 6,000 groups dedicated to the purpose of educating workers and farmers, with special emphasis on Marxist-Leninism. For relaxation and to attract listeners, a program called "Request Concert" has been introduced. A feature on travel gives scenic descriptions of trips along the Oder and Vistula and provides the listener with welcome relief from political topics.

In Hungary, the Political Committee of the Communist Party issued a decree last year calling for regular broadcasts entitled "Radio Political Circles." Party members not engaged in other educational Party activities were put in charge of these programs. Consequently, discussion topics were identical with the subjects taught at the "Pupils'

Circles for the Study of the Basic Principle of Politics" and included such dry items as the "by-laws of our Party."

In its March 14 issue, the Bucharest weekly, *Contemporanul*, a newspaper chiefly concerned with cultural affairs, wrote: "The radio is a very important medium in the Communist education of youth." Commenting on the good results which certain programs had received to date, the author, Ana Ioanid, a Party official, pointed out that there are still "deficiencies" which must be eliminated. Criticizing a lack of coordination and well-defined objectives, she also declared that programs dealing with problems of country life had been neglected and made the anticipated suggestion that work on collective farms, State farms, machine and tractor stations, and the fulfillment of the Plan were suitable topics. Showing Communist concern with attracting young people, she cautioned that programs must "become more appealing to youth . . . must have a more varied and attractive character." Furthermore, she said that "satirical material . . . so appreciated by youth, is often lacking."

"Side Track"

Satire is emphasized in an effort to increase the listening audience and simultaneously make propaganda more palatable. The feature program, *Canard*, (a slang term for lie) belongs to this category. Originating as a marionette film, it was adapted for radio production. According to the Budapest weekly, *Magyar Radio*, *Canard* uses "artistic methods to throw light on the criminal countenance of the imperialists."

In an effort to counteract the influence of the train that recently fled from Czechoslovakia to the Western zone of Germany, the regime in Hungary has written a radio parody on the incident called "Side Track." This childishly written script describes a train "forced" into the American zone, where its passengers are "liberated" by violence. The scene opens as two Americans prepare the station for the passengers:

"Jackal: The buffet will be here . . . a small gift stand in the waiting room. In the restaurant we shall have a bar, dimmed lamps. . . .

Griffin: Aren't we going to have a chapel, Tom?

Jackal: No, a priest will be enough; Father Frombach will walk up and down and give his blessings. He may also distribute wafers, or holy pictures, whichever he likes, only he must distribute something. . . .

(The train rolls into the station, where the passengers are forcibly removed. Some are taken to be cross-examined, the others huddle together in the waiting room.)

Frombach: (enters) Calm yourselves, brethren, we are all in God's hands. Think of the sweetness of His love, and buy this bar of Rugby Chocolate; it will give strength to your bodies, as well as to your troubled souls. . . .

Jackal: Your work isn't quick enough; the people are very restless.

Frombach: What can I do, Mr. Jackal. . . ?

Jackal: Read from the Bible . . . or something . . . but

be quick about it . . . we are going to take photographs soon. We need touching scenes.

Frombach: Be calm, brethren, we are all of us going to God. It has been written that the day will come, the sweetness of which will be similar to the sweetness of heaven. Buy this chocolate, the sweetness of which. . .

(In the meantime a few captive passengers are talking in the waiting room.)

Leonar: It is three A.M. . . .

Liza: I'm so hungry.

Leonar: I wish that priest would come along with his out-of-this-world chocolate. . . .

Grandma: Oh, some people are so wicked . . . and to think that there is a priest among them, what a shame. . . .

Leonar: It seems that God is having a nap, Auntie. . . ."

The Inquiring Microphone

In the following radio dialogue for home consumption the author satirizes a radio moderator's interview with the sacrosanct symbol of Soviet society—the Stakhanovite. Excerpts from *Magyar Radio*, Budapest's official radio bulletin, on March 23 follow:

"This is the Loud Broadcasting Station! Dear listeners, first of all I want you to hear Mr. Ugyebar's report:

Ugyebar: (prattling along) . . . This morning we have brought our microphone to Stakhanovite Kis, who will tell us about his new system. Would you mind telling us, Comrade Kis, how you hit upon it?

Kis: Well, it happened this way. . . .

Ugyebar: (rapidly) It happened, you see, that Comrade Kis considered everything that had to be considered, isn't that so? With this method a lot of time can be saved, don't you see. . . .

Kis: Yes, First I. . . .

Ugyebar: (interrupting him) I have before me . . . the mechanism, held by small pins, with the help of which Comrade Kis carefully inserts the parts. You can turn out not six, but twelve of them every minute, can't you?

Kis: Yes, First I. . . .

Ugyebar: (quickly butting in) We won't keep Comrade Kis any longer. Let us thank him for his invaluable information and the clear way in which he has described his system. So long, dear listeners, so long. . . . (Gong)"

"Calling All Children"

The ferocity of the Soviet and Satellite germ warfare propaganda campaign against the United States, and its repercussions, is the subject of the following report by an exiled Czechoslovak diplomat and novelist. Documented with quotations from Radio Prague, it accents the dangers of such insistent propaganda, especially on the minds of the young:

"Recent reports verify that adults, including a great number of Communists, listen to foreign broadcasts when they want information on events at home as well as abroad. Communist loudspeakers at all crossroads of importance, in restaurants and places of work, are equally, if not more effective. Phrases and slogans in-

cessantly repeated kill adult judgment and contribute to mechanical thinking.

"Young people are influenced by pathos, regimentation and romantic appeals to assemble. The results of the recent radio campaign summoning children to 'fight' vicious America and her soldiers in Korea, exemplifies the influence of Communist broadcasting on children. The weekly, *Prazsky Rozhlas*, a Prague radio bulletin, described the action:

" 'On Monday, March 17, the signal was heard at eight A.M. for the first time, to be repeated many times after that, repeated so frequently that by now all listeners to our broadcast are familiar with it. This signal is the introduction to the Childrens' Action of Protest against bacteriological warfare in Korea. During its first Monday program, the broadcast for children received one telephone message after another from Prague school children protesting against the war in Korea. By that evening we counted 13,971 signatures!'

"The wording of the March 17 appeal over Radio Prague was as follows:

" 'We are calling the children, we are calling all children in Czechoslovakia. We are calling the Pioneers. All of you, join the appeal of the children from the Stalin School in Prague-Strasnice. Protect our comrades in Korea. They are young and helpless against the horrible weapons dropped by the Americans each day. Appeal to all children, all over the world . . . appeal to all governments to stop the weapons against innocent nations and children. . . . Join us children . . . pledge yourselves towards the entire world. . . .'

"Following the appeal, Radio Prague broadcast a warning to parents. 'Wives and mothers of the whole world must raise their voices. . . . He who remains silent agrees! What irony! American gangsters are murdering . . . and the Pope is silent. What about the Christian concept of "Thou shalt not kill!"'

"On April 8, using pathos to appeal to receptive and sensitive children's minds, Radio Prague announced:

" 'In addition to sending their signatures, children have also sent pictures, money and small gifts for their Korean comrades. They have frequently sent their favorite possessions. In one letter we found a flower enclosed—a small boy sent his favorite toy, a little red automobile. . . . A little girl . . . brought her piggy bank and joyfully emptied it. . . . Such are our children. They know that signatures are not enough. They pledge themselves to work in brigades to increase the collection of scrap material, all this to prove their sympathy for the fate of their small Korean comrades.'"

"One week after having started the Childrens' Action Radio Prague interrupted one of its broadcasts to announce triumphantly: 'Already 682,156 children have sent in their signatures!'"

Telephonic Radio

Cloaked under such names as "wired radio," and "telephonic radio," and housed in a commonplace box is an insidious instrument used chiefly for mass propaganda. It is a radio system in which programs are received at a central point and then sent to individual listeners over wires, thus subjecting them to one centrally controlled

program. Loudspeakers cannot pick up radio waves, but only those programs transmitted by wire.

Reports from the captive area indicate considerable expansion of the telephonic radio system. *Romania Libera* (Bucharest), May 15, stressed the importance of "radiofication," as it is called in Romania, in the "development of the cultural revolution":

"Following the Soviet experience in this field our Party and Government has started an extensive campaign for radiofication throughout the country. For the first time radio sets and transmitters are being made in our country. . . . Many working centers have been radiofied . . . as well as such large projects as the Danube Black Sea Canal and V.I. Lenin Hydroelectric Center."

In Budapest, the Central Bureau of Statistics listed the increase in telephonic radio subscribers as substantial. At the beginning of 1951 there were 1,600 subscribers followed by an increase of 32,700 during the year. The total at the end of the year was 34,300, covering 34 different towns.

According to recent Polish statistics there are 1,627,995 radios in the country, about 40 percent of which are telephonic. On May 7, *Trybuna Ludu* of Warsaw claimed 1,747,148 radio subscribers at the end of 1951 and showed an increase of 100,000 by March 1952.

In the following report a mechanic who recently escaped from one of Europe's captive countries describes the appearance of telephonic radio in his town, where it was handled by the post office on a subscription basis:

"Before the installation of telephonic radio was widespread, many of the citizens in our town were puzzled by the small hooks which appeared on telegraph poles to which the loudspeakers' wires were attached.

"I first learned of the new type of radio while overhearing a Party broadcast from a neighbor's house. After work I used to sit in the yard and listen to broadcasts on my regular radio set and was able to listen to any station I chose, but because of interference caused by my neighbor's telephonic radio I had to give up this kind of entertainment.

"As the programs carried on the telephonic radio proved terribly one-sided and were abhorred by most Hungarian workers, I concocted a way to silence the loudspeakers. It occurred to me that I might attach my own radio to the loudspeaker system. During the night I soldered two very thin wires to the loudspeaker of my radio set and conducted these wires through my attic to the back of the house. At 8 P.M. one evening I tuned my radio to the Voice of America, turning it on full strength and connecting it with the public loudspeaker system. Stepping into the yard to see what was happening I was able to hear the Voice of America's program very clearly from the neighboring houses!

"I did not dare repeat this experiment again as I was planning my escape to the West."

TV—"In The Near Future"

Moscow is the main source of official news on the status of television experimentation and development behind the Iron Curtain. In a May 7 broadcast, Radio Riga carried Soviet Deputy Minister Kurakin's speech on progress in

this field. Claiming that there were 7,000 television receivers in Moscow's outer districts alone, he also referred to Radio Kiev's recent acquisition of modern equipment and to the 60 percent increase in kolkhoz receiving points.

The nations of the Soviet orbit print relatively little on television except for occasional references to technical research. The phrase "in the near future" covers the present situation. Newspapers in Romania and Bulgaria omit the subject and Poland, following the destruction of its experimental station during the war, is still in the pre-planning stage. (See NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, February, page 41.)

In Hungary, however, press reports were more optimistic and comprehensive. Heralding the forthcoming television industry, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), November 21, 1951, wrote, "Hungarian television will be completed by Christmas. . . . There are three television stations in the Soviet Union."

The first model of a television receiving set was to be completed by Stalin's birthday on December 21. Although amply celebrated, the birthday passed without any statement on television. Somewhat later, however, a press item noted "that only one sample will be completed and it will take a long, long time until a series of sets can be made."

Information on television research in Hungary has been received from several refugee sources. According to these sources, research proceeded along English lines until the introduction of Soviet equipment. The primary work in this field is the imitation of foreign, chiefly Western, instruments. Because these no longer reach Hungary legally, several officials have been commissioned to gather suitable parts from old material and instruments obtained by dismantling shot down American planes. Other helpful parts were obtained from the London Radio Exhibition in 1948 and these are still used as the basis for research. The following report based on information from a refugee radio technician traces developments in the TV field and lists the various substances and equipment which formed the basis of recent experimentation.

"In the spring of 1951 two Russian technicians arrived in Budapest as guests of the Hungarian Government. The aim of their visit was to help Hungarian engineers erect a television network and experiments were carried out in the Orion factory in Budapest. Some of the necessary materials were provided by the Russians, but not even a primitive station could be created, due to the lack of vital parts. Whereupon the Technical Research Institute was established in Budapest and ordered by the government to produce the missing parts. Research Institute III, as it was called, studied Western technical publications and worked on available equipment but was unable to comply. The project was abandoned and the Russian specialists returned to the Soviet advising the 20 or more Hungarian engineers employed on the project to do their best and make use of local products.

"Left on their own, Hungarian technicians continued their research under the aegis of the Communications Research Institute which controls all developments in the communications sphere. In the laboratories of Re-

search Institute III, located in Budapest's Tungram Factory, experts went ahead with experiments on magnetrons and klystrons. The klystron, [which is used in television transmitters] is an ultra-high frequency device and although long used in the West was demonstrated to Hungarian technicians as new. Work also proceeded on an English radar apparatus as well as on electron tubes, life tests of electron tubes and measuring experiments, tests for mass production of the magnetron and construction work on radio receiving sets. Development and production of short wave components for radar apparatus, was also the object of experimentation.

"In the similarly occupied laboratories of the Orion Radio Factory such American apparatus as signal generators, frequency measuring instruments and vacuum-tube volt-meters are copied.

"In spite of the fact that the laboratory's library contains much specialized Soviet literature, the technicians still prefer English, American and other Western publications, and maintain a skeptical attitude towards the Russian works and materials."

II. COMMAND PERFORMANCE FOR ART

What the Communist Party demands of its artists was expressed by A. A. Zhdanov at the first Union-Wide Congress of Soviet Authors in 1934 when he defined the theory of political coordination in art and described "Socialist realism."

"It is not sufficient to portray life as unbiased reality in works of art. On the contrary it is necessary to portray reality in its revolutionary development. Both truth and the concrete facts of an historic picture should educate working people in the spirit of Socialism. This is the method of Socialist realism. Our art is not afraid of being accused of tendentiousness. Yes, our art is tendentious because in this era of class struggle art is not and cannot be unbiased and non-political."

Last July, *Bolshevik*, the Soviet Party fortnightly, carried a book review which by its criticism, clarified the Soviet stand on the role of art, a policy which all Satellite artists must follow.

Soviet Professor M. V. Alpatov wrote a book on the history of art in which he viewed artistic events as the history of the independent development of the mind and the changing of artistic ideas handed down from generation to generation. This was wrong, said *Bolshevik*. Professor Alpatov should have viewed the history of art as a panorama of historical processes and as a means by which artists may actively participate in the class struggle. The professor was also denounced for not criticizing formalism and was accused of having placed it on a par with realism—a heinous sin.

That "Socialist realism" is still the order of the day in the Soviet orbit is obvious from a sampling of the press. Gyorgy Lukacs, the Hungarian theoretician quoted in *Szabad Művészet*, a Budapest art monthly, said: "I think it is a prejudice of writers, and especially of painters and architects to believe that their compositions are a formal and purely artistic matter. In my opinion, a really

outstanding creation will never result from such an approach." Imre Istvan, a fellow Communist and an artist expressed himself thus on the subject:

"Due to the guidance of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party . . . and the Soviet example our artists are becoming more and more capable of serving the interests of the workers, of enlightening the masses, of developing their culture, improving their tastes and of helping them to form a political and moral unity."

Marxist Leninism—The Artist's Compass

On May 21, *Romania Libera* (Bucharest) reported on the plenum of the Federation of Plastic Artists. The quotation which follows sums up the present artistic platform in Romania and is also a reaffirmation of "Socialist realism":

"Conclusions show that the struggle between the two camps, that of peace and Socialism, and that of war and imperialism also appears in the realm of art.

"Art under imperialism glorifies everything that is base and lewd. . . . Decadent artists paint gangsters, prostitutes or the insane. This decadence has reached a monstrous stage as illustrated by Salvador Dali's 'Boiled Bones' and by the lines and dots of the abstractionists. This is no longer art . . . and brings to mind A. A. Zhdanov's saying that formalist tendencies 'seem to destroy, just as cubism in painting represents nothing more than . . . the destruction of painting.'

"The recent exhibition of plastic arts [which opened in Bucharest on May 12] showed that our plastic art is well on the road to Socialist realism."

"For the first time the great figures of those geniuses of the working class, Lenin and Stalin, appear in our sculpture. . . . All this, pictures with historical background, cartoons unmasking imperialism . . . shows that the great majority of artists want to follow the road of Socialist Realism.

"Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej teaches us that 'foreign influences easily take refuge in . . . literature, art and science' and because of this . . . we must keep in mind that in our art there is a definite struggle between the healthy branch and the formalist reactionary one which, having been discovered in one corner, secretly tries to manifest itself in other corners.

"The key to a realization of great works of art is a thorough knowledge of the life of the common people. . . . The necessity of studying Marxism-Leninism was stressed as the only 'compass' which helps artists understand the true and deep meaning of the phenomenon of reality."

On May 17, 1952, the exhibition, "A Hundred Years of Realism in Polish Painting" opened in the Moscow Art Academy, organized by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art. The exhibition contained works "representing realistic Polish painting of the period from the middle of the 19th century to the present day," and includes a display of sculptural and graphic arts.

Commenting on the exhibit, Alexandre Gerasimov, Chairman of the USSR's All-Union Academy of Art said in the *Trybuna Ludu* of May 16, 1952: "This exhibit . . . is not only a very important artistic event, but also testifies



The above reproduction of Lenin leaving for Finland in 1917, appeared in the Polish Art Review (Warsaw), 1951. Painted by P. I. Rosin, it depicts Lenin entrusting Russia to his faithful disciple Stalin.

to the increasing interest . . . of the Soviet public in the culture and art of friendly nations. . . ."

It is worth noting the opinion of the regime's officials in the field of art concerning the essence of "Socialist realism." Excerpts from the magazine *Przegląd Artystyczny*, the Polish Art Review, are typical.

"The realistic inheritance of the 19th century demonstrates deep, idealistic art arising from the nation's life. Composition, drawing, shape, and color in realistic 19th century Polish painting were not goals in themselves. [They] express deep affection of the Polish common people, its luck and misfortunes, and grow out of the observation of life and nature. They tend to present faithfully labor's beauty and struggle."

Despite the above critic's discussion of the shortcomings of 19th Century art, he seems almost nostalgic when referring to the artistic achievements of that era.

Vice-Minister Sokorski of Culture and Art was quoted in the Polish Art Review as saying: "It is not enough to perceive reality and transfer it to a canvas, reality should be consciously organized in the artistic picture." He then re-defined "Socialist realism" as the process of extracting certain basic phenomena from our lives and depicting these in their idealistic content, eliminating unnecessary elements. The crux of the matter which Sokorski fails to mention is that the Communist artist is neither permitted to choose nor interpret the basic phenomena.

"No More Nudes"

The following report describes artists' living conditions in Hungary and the nature of criticism to which their paintings are subject.

"I am an elderly man, a resident of Budapest, and as an ex-artist benefit from a pension amounting to 200 forints per month. I rent a room for 250 forints a month including heating and subsist on relief parcels from my daughter who is abroad. This, however, is getting more and more complicated as there is often a three months delay in delivery and at times the duty is so high that I am unable to redeem the parcels. I used to sell my antiques, but now it is forbidden for private individuals to sell their belongings.

"Like all other artists, I too, am a member of the Free Trade Union of Working Artists. . . . If a painter is unable to produce a work conceived in the spirit of Communism he is excluded from trade union membership. If an artist is not a member he may not exhibit. Nor can he obtain a studio and painting material.

"Exhibition judges are elected by Tivadar Holba, a professional football team coach and naturally they must be reliable Communists.

"When recently rejecting a very good painting of a nude, Holba said: 'This junk must be thrown out. No more nudes in Hungarian art, only Stakhanovites in coal-mines or Comrade Rakosi at the inauguration of the Tisza Bridge, or the March of the People's Army. Subjects like these represent real Hungarian art.'"

On April 23, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) also listed suitable subjects for artists in a competition destined to promote "the development of Socialist realism in Hungarian art":

"Three painters have been invited to compete in each of the following subjects: Events of 1919, Rakosi Delivers a Speech on the Vermezo, Liberation of Budapest, Decorating House for May 1, and Life of Producers' Cooperatives in Budapest. . . ."

In Bulgaria artists are expected to paint Socialist buildings in the village or city, and the struggle to fulfill the State Plan. An artist if he is lucky may be contracted by the Committee for Science, Arts and Culture and commissioned to do a specific job on one of the previously mentioned topics. He may even receive a "creative vacation" from his other work, pedagogical, administrative or cultural. *Literaturen Front*, the Sofia newspaper carried an article on this subject on April 24:

"Contracts are an important vehicle for the development of arts in our country. They are the decisive factors which ensure the creation of profound ideological works based on Socialist realism.

"Contracts guarantee our artists those conditions so necessary for creative work."

Too Many Landscapes

An article in *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) on May 18 indicates that Hungarian artists, despite all pressures to paint political themes, are still choosing the wrong topics for their canvases:

"... Both young and old are equally afraid to touch on current subjects. It is only when there is a contest that artists will work on a given theme. . . . At the [Spring Fine Arts] Exhibition there was an overwhelming number of landscapes, bringing to mind the question, 'What connection do these inspirational works have with the frantic rhythm of our lives?' The majority of these landscapes lack even the figure of a man . . . or if he happens to be there he only plays a secondary part in the picture. . . ."

"We have not yet managed to eradicate the fixed idea inherited from the bourgeois past that the physical worker had to be robust and uncouth with a powerful chest, disproportionately thick legs, bulging biceps and a low forehead, totally devoid of beauty, who like a battering ram . . . lifted his enormous hammer to strike tottering capitalism. . . . This artistic conception is now of the past. Just as obsolete, however, is that optimistic portrayal of nature and man, which with a sickly sweet smirk tries to create the false impression that the building of Socialism is a poetic ramble under the flowering May trees. . . ."

III. OLYMPICS PREVUE

The summer Olympic Games which will be held in Helsinki this year have aroused much interest in the captive countries, partly because Soviet Russia has indicated that it will participate. Preparations are in full swing and little distinction is made between professionals and amateurs.

An escaped Hungarian sportsman reports that:

"The Communist regime in Hungary is making extensive preparations for the summer Olympic Games. In the middle of June, athletes who are given large bonuses will be placed in expensive training camps for one month, although amateurs, according to the Olympic World Committee, may not be kept in training camps for more than two weeks and may not receive additional pay. Most of these champions are employed in state offices, in the Army and in the Police, where their work is frequently interrupted for training courses.

"The Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies have been arranging competitions among themselves to accustom Soviet sportsmen who have never before taken part in Olympic Games to international competitions."

In Czechoslovakia sport is patterned on the Soviet ideal and amateurs are employed by the State. Those athletes who devote themselves exclusively to sports are also paid for their work. According to *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 17: "Our athletes will prepare themselves in the spirit of our glorious shockworkers."

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), March 3, strongly criticized the results achieved by Polish athletes, particularly during the winter Olympics:

"The Olympics in Oslo have shown that we have not profited by the experience of previous winter Olympics held in Switzerland. Our teams, because of mistakes we have made, went to Oslo less well prepared than our competitors.

"We do not have artificial ice rinks or adequate hockey trainers in Poland and in spite of our experience with matches against Soviet teams we have been unable to adopt modern techniques of the game."

However, the Polish football (soccer) team, which in May played two matches in Moscow to help prepare the Soviet team for the summer Olympic Games, was praised in both the Polish and the Soviet papers: *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), May 13, said:

"Polish sportsmen are experienced football players. They distinguish themselves by their control of the ball, gain ground rapidly, and take advantage of every opportunity to push their attack. Polish backs defend their goal rigorously and ably support the action of the forwards."

To the Communists, sports are a grim and serious business. They form an integral part of the regimented Communist state system and are assigned a specific function in the Communist propaganda machine. The victories of Communist athletes are hailed in the press and on the radio as proof of the superiority of the "Socialist" man over representatives of decadent capitalist society.

In December, 1950, *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw) quoted a resolution passed by the Polish Central Committee for Physical Culture which stated:

"The superiority of Stalinist Socialist athletes over capitalist athletes must be continually demonstrated. The Polish people must be familiarized with physical

culture and athletics in the Soviet Union and with achievements in this sphere in the Peoples' Democracies."

Similarly Radio Sofia reported on March 1, 1951, that physical culture in Bulgaria was to be reorganized on the Soviet model and a recent issue of *Dziennik Polski* (Cracow) commented that "... athletes for their own sake are a thing of the past" and *Lidove Demokracie* (Prague) stated: "Players undergoing political education and those failing in loyalty will not be allowed to play no matter how good they are."

Another important aspect of sports activities is to harden Communist youth in preparation for military duty and to teach them military skills. In Bulgaria sport organizations are directed by the Supreme Committee for Physical Education and Sport. This Committee prepares the State Plan on physical education pertaining to sport throughout the country. To fulfill the Plan, collectives on physical education are organized in all villages, enterprises and schools.

Actually, the main task of these collectives is to indoctrinate the young in Marxism-Leninism and provide military training.

An interesting sidelight on the meaning of spectator sports to the average citizen in Bulgaria is shown by the following report of a young dentist, who escaped during June:

"Soccer continues to be the popular sport in Bulgaria. Attendance at soccer games has increased by leaps and bounds since September, 1944. Broken down in age percentages, attendance discloses a remarkable phenome-

non. The number of adults packing the stadiums nearly equals that of youth. Before September 9, 1944, sports of all kinds, including spectator sports, were considered the prerogative of youth. Older sports enthusiasts were quite shy in displaying their interest, for if an adult showed excessive interest in sport activities his seriousness was doubted.

"The changed social aspect is not due to an increased sportmindedness on the part of the general public, but today the soccer game is an excuse to dodge the Fatherland Front and other Communist-sponsored activities which eat up the individual's spare time. It is recreation and at the same time an escape from the drudgery of sordid reality. It is an outlet for pent-up emotions.

"In keeping with the Communist fashion of the day, many sport teams have changed their names to sever connections and memories with the 'wicked' past. Thus 'Levski' has been renamed 'Dinamo' in honor of the famous Soviet soccer team and new ones have been formed like 'Central Home of the Peoples' Army,' open to soldiers and militiamen. Whenever the team of 'CHPA' plays it must win by hook or by crook.

"A game between 'Dinamo' and 'CHPA' is always a big event in Sofia. The stands are packed above capacity. Those who cannot get inside, stand outside. The excitement is due to the fact that people consider 'Dinamo' their own team, especially those who are in opposition to the existing regime. The game offers them the chance to voice their suppressed sentiments. The crowd's feelings are pitched to the highest degree because the umpire and the referees are downright unfair. Irregularities committed by the 'CHPA' players are overlooked, while the tiniest errors on the part of 'Dinamo's' players are heavily penalized."

News Briefs

Evolutionary Propaganda

The manner in which the Hungarian Communist Party has celebrated the termination of World War II is typical of Communist dialectics:

1945: The following words were uttered by Matyas Rakosi (Secretary General of the Party and present Prime Minister):

"The first words of gratitude are owed to the Soviet Union, but let us not forget the Allies, Britain and America. The result of our common efforts is that progressive humanity throughout the world can again lift up its head and look with hope toward the future." (*Szabad Nep*, Budapest, May 9, 1945.)

1946: Josef Revai (now Minister of Culture), too, spoke of common victory:

"We wish to express our love and gratitude to the Soviet Union in the first place, but we also owe profuse thanks to Britain and the USA." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1946.)

1947: Common efforts were mentioned for the last time:

"The alliance of the freedom-loving peoples was victorious in the greatest struggle for freedom known in history." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1947.)

1948: Nothing more was said of the Allies, only of the Soviet Union:

"It has been three years since 30 volleys fired from 1000 guns in Moscow announced the end of the European war. German Fascism had been defeated. The Soviet nation was celebrating the Day of Victory." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1948.)

1949: This year's commemoration was written by Gyorgy Palfy (since executed); he spoke only of the Soviet Union's war, as if the other participants had never existed:

"Four years have passed since World War II, which raged in the European theatre; it was crowned by a smashing victory of the Soviet Union over German imperialism." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1949.)

1950: The Party went one step further than simple disregard of the Allies. For the first time, the Allies were fixed with the responsibility for the war:

"The Soviet Union was victorious, despite the fact that it had to bear the brunt of the war quite alone. War was provoked not only by the German and Japanese Fascists, but by the British, French and American imperialists as well." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1950.)

1951: This commemoration read as if the Soviet Union had fought against the Allies; Fascism was not mentioned:

"War against the peoples of Europe, and particularly against the Soviet Union, was fomented not in the Munich *Bierhalle* but in Wall Street. The British-American-French imperialists are directly responsible for the outbreak of World War II." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1951.)

1952: The Communists alluded to their war preparations and prophesied their victory in World War III:

"Today we are celebrating the victory won by Soviet arms. . . . The partisans of peace are now strong enough to thwart plans for a new war by their preparations. But if it should break out, it would cause not only the ruin of some of the capitalist countries, but the downfall of world capitalism." (*Szabad Nep*, May 9, 1952.)

No Sale

A businessman who recently left Romania describes the difficulties encountered by immigrants who wish to dispose of the belongings which they are not permitted to take with them:

"For some time, Romanian newspapers have refused to run classified ads because of the 'shortage of newsprint.' As a result, people have taken to writing small notices which they paste up on any suitable spot. This practice is forbidden by the authorities and offenders are liable to fine or imprisonment. Many of the people who advertised their goods in this manner received a visit from plain-clothes police agents posing as customers. These, after seeing the wares, fined the owners and confiscated the goods which were for sale."

Gottwald a Stargazer

The June 4 issue of *Smena* (Prague), bi-weekly for young people, discussed a "recently discovered" article by President Klement Gottwald in the annual *Chudoba*, in which "Comrade Gottwald described the solar system and published drawings of the rotation of the planets":

"This article is very extensive—ten and a half printed pages. In it, Comrade Gottwald emphasized the significance of the materialistic conception of the universe as the basis for the forming of a scientific opinion. . . . The style and thoroughness of the article are remarkable. Even if astronomy seems to be very mysterious and complicated, the article is written very clearly, everything being explained. Even simple people who have never taken any interest in astronomy will be able to understand it.

"The article is at the same time a proof of Comrade Gottwald's universal education. Even quotations and references in the article show the versatility of his mind. There are, besides quotes from Marx, Engels and Lenin, excerpts from Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Rousseau, Kant, Saint-Simon, Haeckel, Darwin, Palacky, and others."

Is Love Enough?

Magyar Nemzet (Budapest), May 16, dedicated an editorial to the role of "peace propaganda" in schools:

"Our best pedagogues who have gathered for the election of a peace delegate will teach the many thousands of adolescents entrusted to their care to love life and peace passionately. The question arises, however, is it enough to love life and peace? Such love would be incomplete without being coupled with boundless and fanatic hatred of those who form an alliance resulting in death and destruction. It is right that the prominent pedagogues should teach their pupils to love and hate equally. These children should learn the meaning of love and hate; let them learn from innumerable examples taken from real life how heroes of the past and present fought and are fighting for life and peace. They must be taught to hate those who want to destroy the Socialist state. Their hatred should burn as brightly as their love. This is the true vocation of the peace pedagogue."

Readers Levelled

A news source reports that Bulgarian book owners are being asked to turn in their books for the sake of the "cultural elevation of the community":

"The campaign for the collection of books for the public libraries of the country began in March and is being steadily extended. In all villages and towns, young activists are requesting the population to present their books to the cultural centers of their villages and towns, so that they too might contribute to the cultural elevation of the people. In this way all persons owning books are compelled either to give their books to the authorities or to destroy them, because in small villages they would never be able to conceal the fact that they still have books for their own private use. All Party members are instructed to inform the authorities of any persons possessing libraries or even a small number of books. Then the activists visit the houses of these people

and politely ask to be allowed to have a look at the library. After praising the high cultural standards of the owners, they exact a promise that the Party will get the whole library within a week. The activists 'persuade' the owners to agree that education and its means must certainly not remain a privilege of a small minority, and that the government cannot possibly supply all the necessary books so quickly.

"From a practical standpoint, this roundup of all books owned by private citizens gives the Party a powerful instrument of control. All books which are not perfectly orthodox or which deal too extensively with matters and works of past regimes can be weeded out before the books are sent to the libraries."

Unsolicited Members

A young kolkhoz worker complained in Estonia's *Rhava Haal* (Tallinn), May 15, that chickens have taken over the clubrooms designed for the workers on his collective farm:

"Activities of the athletic and other clubs of the Stalin kolkhoz in Elva have subsided because of the ignorance of the kolkhoz leader. A few years ago a kolkhoz club building was built . . . in which chickens have now taken up residence. Although many of us did not agree that the chickens should have the clubhouse, the leader, Comrade Joonas, paid no attention to the opinion of others. He liked to say, 'Merrymaking does not feed anybody. Work can replace athletics.' True, the kolkhoz has achieved good results, but Comrade Joonas should take notice that the results could be even better. Certainly they would have been better if the youth of the kolkhoz could have freely participated in sports and developed other club activities."

Shift in Labor Camps

Radio Belgrade, May 28, announced that "work has temporarily stopped on the Danube-Black Sea Canal because of lack of equipment. Prisoners working there have been transferred to other locations." This announcement confirms reports from refugees on recent changes in the distribution of Romanian labor camps and battalions:

"Many labor camps were moved in April toward the Bulgarian border in the Dobrogea province. A group of 800 political prisoners between 35 and 50 years of age, including 30 priests,—some of Hungarian origin—, have been assigned to digging holes for trees to be planted under a reforestation scheme. The living conditions at these new camps are more primitive than ever. There is only one doctor to look after the workers of three camps, and the food is insufficient for manual labor."

Wonders of Mechanization

The Yugoslav newspaper *Pavliha* (Ljubljana), May 1, quoted the following joke:

"At a meeting for Hungarian workers, the chairman declared, 'From the Soviet Union we are receiving machines which plow for us, machines which dig coal for us, machines which pave roads for us. . . .'

"After the speech, a worker whispered to his friend, 'He forgot to mention the machines which eat for us.'"

Hot Dogs in Ascendancy

A strong point in Communist propaganda for the nationalization of the production and distribution of food was the theoretical abolition of the middle-man's profit to the benefit of the consumer. The Budapest Communist weekly *Beke es Szabadsag*, April 20, published a satirical sketch on the "profit system" in State stores:

"My first encounter with the hot dog was in the corner State store *Kozert*. The hot dog in question was behind a glittering show window, flanked by a round cheese and a fat sausage. I did not look at these two distinguished neighbors; my interest was completely absorbed by the hot dog. A pair of hot dogs, a little mustard, this is a very pleasant thing. The thought formed in my mind, and I must even have been smiling when the man behind the counter cast a quick and astonished look at me. He had never seen such a delighted customer, he said, writing out a slip for 3 *forints* and 50 *fillers*, the purchase price of my choice. . . .

"My second encounter took place in a People's Buffet. When looking at a list of special dishes, I discovered it hiding behind the price of 5.9 *forints*, among other specialties. While I was pushed and pulled into the line for the cashier's desk, I had time enough to meditate, or rather, use simple mathematics. . . . Thus I discovered that, against the price of the *Kozert* State Store, I will have to pay 2 *forints* 40 *fillers* more here (assuming that I reach the cashier alive). I mused—they must include in the price the electricity too. But how could that be, when the sun is shining brilliantly through the windows? Ah, I remembered—it must be the hot water, into which the hot dog is dropped! No, that cannot be. . . . Water cannot cost 2 *forints*, however hot it may be. . . . Without uttering a sound, I paid 5.9 for the solitary hot dog. . . .

"The third time I spotted the hot dog, I was sitting in a reckless mood at a table in one of our State catering establishments, when a bold thought crossed my mind. I waved to a waiter. Very courteously he waved back and flashed by. For a while we waved back and forth to each other; then I decided to do something about it. I slowly got up, went to another table, and removed a menu from under the elbow of an angry-looking moustached man. Then I started to stare, not at the moustached man, but at the menu. A little stain made a kind of halo around the hot dog. But it was not this which fascinated me so, but that the 3.50, subsequently 5.90, hot dog now cost 7.20 *forints*. . . .

"I am yearning now for another encounter . . . this time with someone who can explain the reason for this great price difference among these three encounters."

Unforeseen Comforts

In December a signal event took place in Daugavpils, Latvia, when the new railway station was opened for public use. However, by April 20, *Cina* (Riga) was questioning the actual merit of this new acquisition:

"The new railway station has now been open for several months. The roof of the building is leaking and in order to get to the tracks passengers have to walk

around the station building, because the main entrance to the building is closed.

"Why is the door to the platform not open?" inquire the passengers.

"Not foreseen in the Plan," quietly answers the station master.

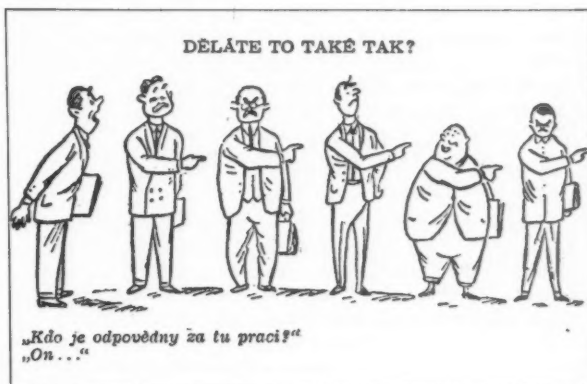
"Sometimes passengers must spend several hours waiting for their trains. They search for a newspaper stand but are unable to locate it. They inquire.

"We have no newspaper stand," replies the official, 'it was not foreseen in the Plan.'

"Where is the phone booth?" asks a mother with a baby.

"There is no public phone in the station; you have to go to the main post office," politely replies the official.

"Such is the situation at the Daugavpils railway station after it has been released for public use by the commission."



PASSING THE BUCK

"Who is responsible for this work?"

"Him . . ."

(cut taken from the Prague weekly *Svet Prace*, May 22)

Doctrinaire Textbooks

New school textbooks are again being issued in Hungary to intensify the spreading of Marxist-Leninism. *Esti Budapest*, organ of the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the Municipal Council, reported May 10:

"Several new textbooks for use in general schools this fall are now in preparation. Fifth and sixth grade pupils will have new grammar books written jointly by members of the Philological Institute and professors following the directives given in Comrade Stalin's linguistic studies. Eighth graders will be given a new reader prepared on the basis of Soviet experience in literature instruction. New Russian grammar books for the upper grades are being prepared. Fifth and seventh grade Russian grammars will be ready by the beginning of the coming scholastic year. In the fall pupils in the seventh grade will have new zoology textbooks. These books will be based on the doctrine of dialectic materialism."

Surface Science

A Geodesical and Geophysical World Congress held in Budapest June 9-14 at the Hungarian Academy of Science was attended by delegates from all nations of the Soviet bloc. *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), June 10, quoted academician Gyula Hevesi:

"First place on the agenda [of the Congress] is given to the prospecting of new fields of natural resources. It would be impossible to keep up the prescribed tempo of industrial production on the current supply of raw material and electric energy without searching for new sources of natural treasures. In this respect it is imperative to apply improved up-to-date graphical methods which have already helped us to achieve highly significant results. . . ."

An exile scientist finds a parallel between this Congress and the Microbiological Congress held in Budapest from January 5 to 15, which presaged the Communist germ warfare campaign (see May issue of *NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*, p. 40). Although it is difficult to predict the exact nature of the propaganda which may result from this Congress, the following statement by Hungarian scientist Emil Regoeczi, published in the June 10 issue of *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), may be an indication of the line it will take:

"Let us not forget that geodesy [the branch of applied mathematics which determines the size and shape of the earth and the variations of terrestrial gravity] has two faces. It is not only creative, but destructive. A modern war would be unthinkable without geodesical premises. The Soviet Union-led peace camp will see to it that geodesical data does not become an auxiliary means of slaughter, but a foundation stone for the future; and that our cartographers be inspired by the desire to create, not to destroy."

Qualified Physicians

Estonia's Radio Tallinn, May 19, commended medical school graduates for their high level of achievement:

"Over 150 young specialists were graduated this year from the Medical School of Tartu State University. We note that the majority were children of kolkhoz and factory workers. The state examinations began in the sixth [final] year. First results of the examinations show that the future physicians have studied all subjects thoroughly. For example, most of the students received excellent grades in the courses on Marxism-Leninism."

Easter Story

The story below is quoted from a letter written by a Lithuanian refugee who declares that this incident, which occurred in the village of Sateikiai in western Lithuania, "symbolizes what freedom of religion really means in countries under Communist rule":

"It was Easter Sunday, 1951. According to an old tradition, the people were gathered in the church throughout the night. Many wept, and many tears flowed, be-

cause it seemed to all that God Himself had died again in our country. . . . But in the morning the candles were lighted, the organ thundered, the priest started to sing the Easter song, the rising sun beamed through the broken windows and the people raised their heads: Christ has risen!

"Suddenly, ugly voices broke through the Easter song. Drunken MVD agents were walking down the length of the church, swinging their rifles and singing their beloved 'Katiusha' song.

"The people were shocked; the Easter song trailed away. . . .

"Then one of the MVD men stood up against the altar, turned toward the people and started to talk in Russian in a drunken voice: 'Why do you allow the priest to blow smoke in your eyes? It is harmful to your health! If you want, we will blow at you with the smoke of gunpowder: all your prayers will disappear!'

"We will hold a special Easter program here for you!" said the other, and started to swear and sing again, until the priest knelt down before the altar, and the people walked off, weeping and sighing.

"And there was no more Easter. . . . It seemed as if Christ was being crucified again, and all of us too. . . ."

The Patience of Sophie

Glos Pracy (Warsaw), May 22, carried a feature article, in the form of a diary, satirizing conditions in the State-run Warsaw stores:

"Tuesday: My wife Sophie often exaggerates and becomes needlessly upset. Evidently she is looking for troubles which do not exist, especially when she goes shopping in the Municipal Retail Trade store. She has annoyed me so much that I have decided to teach her a lesson. So I said to her, 'Sophie, I am going to show you that it is possible to do the shopping in half an hour.' She was not against it. She gave me the ration coupon for soap and laundry soap powder and some good advice for a farewell: 'Better take the overcoat. Nobody knows what kind of weather we will have tomorrow. Who knows how long you will be gone. . . .'

"Wednesday: I spent the night with a friend, being ashamed to go home. And all because of the scale! At the store they promised that they would have a scale today.

"Thursday: Again I was obliged to spend the night at my friend's home. The store kept its promise, the scale arrived. However, this time . . . no bags. I proposed to pour the stuff in my pockets. But they refused. They do not have the time for such machinations.

"Friday: The scale went out of order. It is too bad that I did not listen to Sophie and take an overcoat. It was very cold. Moreover, my friend has given me to understand that my overnight visits are burdensome for him.

"Saturday: I abandoned my pride and went home—without soap, without soap powder, with my head bowed . . . and with a deep respect for the patience of Sophie, who goes shopping in the Municipal Retail Trade store."

The Economic Man

The Communist regime is preparing to liquidate the few remaining handicrafts in Hungary. A former carpenter who escaped to Vienna reports:

"The government has decided on the nationalization of 'small' artisans, particularly cobblers, blacksmiths and carpenters. The move will not be announced officially, and the government regulations will be executed by police authorities who will 'discover' materials 'illegally held' by artisans. These materials are necessary for the work of the artisan, and their confiscation will force him out of business. This decision was made not for political but for economic reasons. The craftsmen are skilled workers who are badly needed in nationalized industries."

To Each According to His Nationality

On May 1, the Komsomol Secretariat in Vilnius, Lithuania, issued a directive to all Komsomol organizations in Vilnius, with particular reference to those set up in factories and administrative offices. The directive ordered strict control over the treatment of workers of different nationalities and introduced a system of fines up to 500 rubles for the offense of discrimination against nationalities. The inciting factor behind this directive is described by a refugee as follows:

"In the Elfa electrotechnical plant in Vilnius, Russian workers, members of the Komsomol, enjoyed considerable favoritism at the hands of the factory management. These Russian workers received financial awards and were sent as official delegates on excursions to other Soviet Republics in priority before the workers of other nationalities, notably Lithuanians. The chief cause of dissatisfaction, however, was the fact that a Russian Stakhanovite worker in charge of recording production 'norms' favored Russian workers to the detriment of Lithuanian and other workers. As a result, workers stopped attending Agit-Prop meetings in the factory."

"After the Komsomol directive, which sought to remedy this situation, favoritism of Russian workers stopped, at least for the time being. Everything was done to hush up the unsavory story of privilege and discrimination."

Paperwork Epidemic

A steady stream of decrees, orders, regulations and instructions is continually directed at Estonian kolkhozes, where, according to a signed article in *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), April 10, the orders are seldom read and hastily forgotten. And this seems to be the proper treatment, since most of the orders are revoked or amended almost as soon as they are sent out:

"When the chairmen of the kolkhozes of Suure-Jaani are asked their opinion about the decisions of the leading soviet offices in the region, the answer is in most cases the same: 'There are so many decisions and orders that it is not possible to remember all of them.' And indeed there are a great many decisions, regulations, orders and plans. Some of these are forgotten even by the people who send them; some are changed, and the

fulfillment of the most important operative orders is checked only by telephone. A special committee should be formed to see that orders are properly read and carried out."

Conference on Edge

To get a keen edge on a razor blade is one of the production problems which the Communists in Poland seem unable to solve. Previously, these articles were imported from Sweden and the West. On April 19, *Dziennik Baltycki* (Gdynia) described a conference for the improvement of "Polonia" razor blades:

"Colleagues," began the chairman, "by their shape, material and packing, our products have the deceptive appearance of razor blades. Unfortunately they have become a laughing stock. Our blunt blades have become the target of sharp witticisms for even the bluntest humorists. The barbers bless us, because more and more people who used to shave themselves at one time, but who have become short of free space for new scars on their faces, are seeking professional service. . . . Mothers use our razor blades as toys for their children without fear of injury. The pencil sharpener factory has rejected our offer to deliver blades, maintaining that they would be of no use because pencils are made of hard wood. The situation is getting serious. The surplus stock of razor blades is increasing daily."

"One of the conference members proposed that the trademark should be scratched from the blades, to which the chairman replied, 'That would be of no use. When a customer feels the edge of our blades, he will know they are ours.' A junior member of the conference suggested that 'we give to customers who buy 10 of our blades, one genuine blade as a bonus.'"

Laissez Faire

From Romania, the following joke is reported circulating in connection with the recent Economic Conference in Moscow:

"An American and a Romanian met at the Conference and started to discuss conditions in their countries."

"How much does a worker earn in America?" asked the Romanian delegate.

"About 250 dollars a month," replied the American.

"And how much does he have to spend if he wants to live decently?" the Romanian continued.

"Well, he can manage on 200 dollars," said the American.

"And what does he do with the rest of the money?"

"That is his business. In America nobody interferes in such matters. Workers may spend their money any way they wish. Now, tell me, how much does a Romanian worker earn per month?"

"About 400 lei," said the Romanian.

"And what is the cost of living?"

"About 1,400 lei."

"But that is impossible!" cried the American, greatly astonished. "How does he live?"

"Ah," the Romanian smiled, "that is his business. In Romania, there is also complete freedom from interference in such matters."

Definitive Dialectics

The following joke is reportedly enjoying wide popularity in Poland:

"Jacob did not have such a bad job in his country behind the Iron Curtain. Recently, however, the Party of Toiling Workers made him understand that if he continued to remain outside the Party he would lose his job. Jacob was willing to join the Party, but was unable to comprehend the meaning of Marxist dialectics, which every Party member must know.

"So he went to see his Rabbi. 'Rabbi,' he said 'what is this Marxist dialectics?'

"The Rabbi looked at Jacob, who was very upset.

"Well, it is not easy to explain. But listen to me carefully. I will give you an example which should help you to understand. Two persons entered their apartment through the chimney shaft; first one and then the other. Which one of these two will be clean and which one will be dirty, do you think?'

"Rabbi, I am certain that the first who entered the apartment will be dirty, because he would have rubbed off all the soot, and the second one will be clean.'

"Yes, you guessed right, Jacob,' said the Rabbi. 'But now think carefully: which one will wash himself?'

"Rabbi, that is an easy question. Surely the one who is dirty will wash himself.'

"You are wrong, Jacob, that is a very bad answer. The one who is clean will wash himself. When he sees how dirty the other one is, he will think that he is also dirty and will go to wash himself. Now, my dear Jacob, go home, think it over once more, and come to see me tomorrow morning.'

"The next morning Jacob was at the Rabbi's house. 'Rabbi, you are a very clever man. Of course it is the clean man who will wash himself.'

"You are wrong, good man. Now listen to me: two persons entered the apartment through the chimney shaft. . . .'

"Rabbi, I know, I've heard it already.'

"Please, don't interrupt me. Two persons entered the apartment through the chimney shaft. First one and then the other. One arrived clean and the other dirty. Which one washed himself? What do you think?'

"But, Rabbi, the clean one will wash himself.'

"No, Jacob, that is wrong. The dirty one will do it. He will first of all look at the clean person, then at his black hands, and then he will go and wash himself.

You'd better go home and think it over once more and come to see me in the morning.'

"The next morning, Jacob arrived at the Rabbi's home and said, 'Rabbi, you are very clever. Of course the dirty person will wash himself.'

"No, Jacob, you are wrong again. You don't understand anything. Just listen to me: two persons entered their apartment through the chimney shaft. . . .'

"Stop! Stop!' cried Jacob. 'I've heard it so often; one time the clean one is supposed to wash himself, then the dirty one. It is absurd. Why do these people enter their apartment through the chimney shaft anyway?'

"Ah,' said the Rabbi, 'now you begin to understand Marxist dialectics.'"

Stable Currency Only

The Party-controlled Kultura Foreign Trade Enterprise in Budapest has the exclusive right to sell Hungarian magazines abroad. In April, the firm sent a circular to all its subscribers abroad, including those in Western countries, in which the subscription fees were quoted in rubles:

"We herewith notify you . . . that a new bi-monthly periodical *Epuletgepeszet* [Building Engineering] for manual and intellectual workers is being published. If you wish to subscribe, we will mail you the magazine on receipt of the subscription fee of 6.40 rubles."

"A Great Unknown"

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), June 11, published a reader's complaint about State methods of merchandising:

"As a Party agitator I often have the opportunity to listen to various complaints concerning stylon [a form of nylon] stockings. They are sold in closed envelopes and it is possible to examine them only after they are purchased. When some defect is discovered—unevenness of foot size, difference in length, runs, etc.—stores refuse to exchange such stockings or to refund the money. It is very strange that for a genuine banknote earned for real work it is possible to purchase a great unknown in an envelope.

"I suggest that forms of glass be placed in stores on which the stockings can be stretched and examined before being bought. In this way, customers will be completely satisfied that their merchandise is of good quality."

Research Projects on Eastern Europe

Prepared by the National Committee For a Free Europe

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service and the Mid-European Studies Center. They are available in limited quantities, and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee For a Free Europe, Inc., 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

The Monetary Reform in Bulgaria, Dr. B. D. Jones; (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 14 pages, mimeographed. On May 11, a monetary reform was enacted in Bulgaria. The far-reaching consequences of the reform are explained in this study, along with the special announcement of the decree by Radio Sofia. Probably of most value in the statistics are the effects of this reform upon the living standards of the people. Food prices for a working family in May 1952 are compared with the level of prices in 1938. Furthermore, this study points out how, as a result of the new reform, special privileges are granted to favored groups. For example, the deposits and current accounts of the population in savings and other banks have been recalculated on May 12, 1952, on this basis: "on deposits up to 50,000 *leva*, 100 *leva* now equals 3 new *leva*; on deposits up to 100,000 *leva*, 100 *leva* now equals 2 new *leva*; and on deposits up to 200,000 *leva*, 100 *leva* now equals 1 new *lev*." The discriminatory basis of the reform against the relatively wealthier groups is evident. Party officials, of course, have special exemptions which work in their favor. The study also gives the textual announcement of the abolition of ration coupons for basic foods.

Price 10 cents.

Miscellaneous Statistical Data on Hungary, 1950-1952, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 21 pages, mimeographed. The statistical data compiled in this publication are translated from various official reports of the Budapest Communist government agencies, and most of the figures have so far not appeared in English print. Their importance will depend upon the critical evaluation with which all Communist statistics must be handled. Basic figures on Commerce, Agriculture, Transportation, Labor, Health, Social Security, Education and Culture, Sports, and Radio are all grouped into specially selected categories which outline the Communist-drawn picture.

Price 10 cents.

Agricultural Cooperatives in Czechoslovakia, L. Feierabend; (Mid-European Studies Center, 1952) 104 pages, pamphlet. This comprehensive history of the agricultural cooperatives describes their beginnings in the historic lands of the Czechs, their development through the years of the Republic, and their perversion under the Nazi occupation. The report includes a detailed analysis of Communist infiltration and the use of the cooperative structure to speed the Sovietization of Czechoslovakia.

Price \$1.00.

"The Way of Our People's Democracy", speech by Matyas Rakosi, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 41 pages, mimeographed. Seldom has such a speech by a Communist politician received the attention which Rakosi's declaration received. This report is a complete translation of the three-hour speech. In an amazing confession of the strategy and tactics applied by the Communists in postwar Hungary, Rakosi defined in a specific way the general plan which was applied in all the captive countries. There is an introduction by Paul Fabry.

Price 25 cents.



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